انتشارات کتابفروشی اسدی شماره ۶

# تزوکات تیموری

تحریر ابوطالب حسینی تربتی بفارسی

با ترجمهٔ انگلیسی آن

از روی چاپ ۱۷۷۳ شهر اکسفرد

بطریق افست نقل شد

انتشارات اسدی

باهتمام کتابفروشی اسدی

طهران - میدان بهارستان

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# دیباجه

آنچه بنام **واقعات تیموری** یا **ملفوظات تیموری** شناخته می‌شود کتابیست بفارسی که حاوی بعضی مطالب تاریخی است و بقلم شخصی بنام ابوطالب حسینی تربتی تحریر یافته و او دعوی کرده‌است که اصل کتاب بزبان ترکی جغتائی و بانشای امیر تیمور گورکان بوده است و یادداشتهای شخصی او بوده‌است از وقایع زندگانی و سلطنت خودش. این کتاب دوقسمت دارد، یکی ملفوظات و دیگری تُزوك یا تُزوکات (بمعنی بنیانها و تأسیسات و طرحها و تعبیه‌ها). همین قسم اخیر است که باراوّل در ۱۷۷۳ در اکسفرد با ترجمهٔ انگلیسی و مقدّمهٔ مفصّلی به انگلیسی انتشار یافت و خواننده اینك چاپ مجدّد آن را در دست دارد. مترجم کتاب به انگلیسی شخصی بنام میجر ویلیام دیوی Major W. Davy بوده‌است و مهیّا کنندهٔ متن فارسی از برای چاپ و ناشر مجموع متن و ترجمه شخصی بنام جوزف هوایت Joseph White که در آن زمان در اکسفرد مدرّس زبان عربی بوده است. مصحّح و ناشر بعضی از عبارات متن را حذف کرده بوده و ترجمهٔ آنهارا هم نیاورده‌است، مع‌هذا این متن و ترجمه خالی از ارزش نیست واقدام به تجدید طبع آن مفید می‌نمود. متن فارسی همین قسمت یعنی تزوکات در ایران بچاپ سنگی همراه قابوس نامه باهتمام رضاقلی‌خان هدایت لله باشی در ۱۲۸۵ هجری منتشر شده، و ترجمهٔ انگلیسی قسم نخستین یعنی ملفوظات نیز توسّط میجر چارلز

استیوارت Major Ch. Stewart در ۱۸۳۰ در لندن بچاپ رسیده است . قسم تزوکات بفرانسه هم ترجمه شده و مقالهٔ مفصّلی نیز به آلمانی در بارهٔ تمام کتاب تحریر شده‌است . رجوع شود به «ادبیّات ایران» تألیف استوری ج ۱ ص ۲۸۰ تا ۲۸۲ . عنوان تزوکات تیموری گاهی نیز بر هردو قسمت کتاب اطلاق شده‌است ، ولی آنچه در این دو قسم آمده‌است گویا اصل ترکی نداشته‌و از انشای امیر تیمور نبوده است . ابوطالب حسینی تربتی که خویشتن‌را مترجم این کتاب از ترکی بفارسی معرّفی می کند در مقدّمه‌ای که بران نوشته‌است دعوی می کند که در حرمین اشرفین در کتبخانهٔ جعفر پاشا حاکم یمن کتابی ترکی دیدم از ملفوظات عالی حضرت جنت مکانی فردوس آشیانی صاحبقرانی ... آن‌را از ترکی بفارسی نقل نمودم .

ظنّ اینکه این مطلب را ابوطالب حسینی راست نگفته باشد و تمام کتاب اختراع خود او و تلفیق و تحریر اخباری باشد که از کتابهای تاریخی مثل ظفرنامهٔ نظام‌الدّین شامی و ظفرنامهٔ شرف‌الدّین علی‌یزدی وغیره برداشته‌است بسیار قوی است ، مخصوصاً که دارای اغلاط تاریخی متعدّد است . از مقدّمهٔ کتاب دیگری بنام **ملفوظات صاحبقرانی** تألیف افضل بخاری برمی‌آید که در ۱۰۴۷ وقتی که‌این کتاب ابوطالب حسینی تقدیم شاه جهان گردید و بر وی خوانده شد آن پادشاه متوجّه خطاهای تاریخی آن واختلافاتی که بین مندرجات این کتاب‌و مضامین‌ظفرنامهٔ یزدی موجوداست گردید و به محمّدافضل پسر تربیت خان بخاری امر کرد آن را باکتب تاریخ مقابله کرده اغلاط آن‌را مرتفع سازد و عباراتی‌را که ابوطالب حسینی از خود

افزوده‌است حذف کند و کتاب‌را از نو بصورتی مفصّلتر انشا و تحریر نماید ـ و او این‌کار را کرد.

در اینکه درعهدامیر تیموریادداشتهائی دربارهٔ واقعات‌زندگانی او نوشته می‌شده‌است (نه توسط شخص او بلکه بقلم وقایع نگاران) گویا تردیدی نباشد ، زیرا که غیاث‌الدّین علی‌یزدی آن‌را بدست داشته،و نظام‌الدّین شامی‌وشرف‌الدّین علی‌یزدی هردو ازآنها استفاده کرده‌اند. در ظفرنامهٔ شامی (چاپ فلیکس تاور ، ۱۹۵۶ ، ج ۱ ، ص ۱۰ تا ۱۱) اشاره‌ای باین خبر آمده‌است که ملخّص آن اینست: در سال‌هشتصدو چهار امیر صاحبقران باحضار بندهٔ کمینه نظام شامی‌مثال داد، واشارت عالی نفاذ یافت تاتاریخی که‌جهت‌آن حضرت و صادرات افعال ایشان از مبدأ ظهور این دولت ابد پیوند الی یومنا نوشته‌اندو ترتیب‌آن کما ینبغی بتقدیم نرسیده این بنده به تنقیح‌و ترتیب آن مشغول گردد ، امّا بشرطی که از حلیهٔ تکلّف و پیرایهٔ تصلّف مصون‌و محروس‌باشد ... علما درحقّ سخن پسندیده گفته‌اند ما ُتدر که العامة ولا ُتنکره الخاصة ... التزام کردم که سوانح حالات و وقایع‌صادرات ایام این‌دولت چنانچه تاغایت ضابطانی که حاضر بوده‌اند و ملازمانی که در سفرو حضر وقایع و حوادث‌را ناظر ، ثبت کرده باشند لباس عبارتی پاك بی‌تکلّف پوشاند.

و شرف‌الدّین علی یزدی بتفصیل بیشتر در باب این‌مطلب بحث می کند و خلاصهٔ سخنان او اینست ( ظفرنامه ، چاپ‌کلکته ، ج ۱ ، ص۲٤ وما بعد ) :

حضرت صاحب قران‌را در سفر و حضر پیوسته اعاظم ارباب

عمایم از سادات و علماءو فقهاء و اهل فضلو دانش از بخشیان ایغور و دبیران فرس ملازم می‌بوده‌اند و همواره جمعی ازیشان بـر حسب فرمان هرچه وقوع می‌یافت از صادرات افعال و اقوال آن حضرتو واردات‌احوال ملك و ملّتو ارکان دولت همه‌را تحقیق نموده‌باهتمامی تمام قلمی می کردند ، وحکم چنان بود که هر قضیّه چنانچه درواقع بوده باز نموده‌شود بی تصرّفی‌دران بزیادتی و نقصان ... وهم به‌اشارت علیّهٔ آن حضرت اصحاب بلاغتو براعت آن‌را کسوت عبارت پوشانیده بنظمو نثردر سلك تألیف می کشیدند بهمان شرط که در ضبط آن‌رفته بود ، و بکرّات در مجلس عالی بسمع مبارك می رسانیدنـد تا وثوق تمام بصحّت آن حاصل می‌شدو بدین نمط منظومه‌ای ترکی و مؤلفی فارسی هریك ازان مشتمل بر معظّمات احوال و اوضاع آن حضـرت رقم زدهٔ کلك نظمو تألیف شده بود ... حضرت سلطنت پناهی ( یعنـی شاهرخ) مجموع نسخ مذکوررا از منظومو منثور ترکیو فارسی از تمام ممالك طلب داشته جمع آمده بودو آماده نهاده ... الی آخر .

با وجود این نسبت کتاب ابوطالب حسینی به امیرتیمورامروز مورد قبول محققین نیست ، و اگرچه متنی ترکی وجود داشته است او آن‌را در دست نداشته ، و بهرحال آن‌هم انشای خود تیمور نبوده است ، و مسلماً بعضی از اشارات تاریخی آن با آنچه در ظفرنامه‌های شامیو یزدیو تواریخ دیگرآمده‌است اختلاف فاحش دارد . مع‌هذا کتاب بخواندن می‌ارزد ، و مخصوصاً‌از این‌حیث که‌فارسی وانگلیسی آن باهم‌است از برای دانش‌آموزان و دانشجویان سودمنداست .

در مقدّمه‌ای که جوزف‌هوایت‌بر متنو ترجمهٔ چاپ خودنوشته

است اطلاع داده‌است که : نسخه‌ای که متن از روی آن چاپ و با ترجمه‌منتشر شده‌است در کتبخانهٔ دکترویلیام‌هنتر Dr. W. Hunter محفوظ است*. ترجمهٔ فصلی از این نسخه‌را نمونه‌وار در ۱۷۸۰ من منتشر کردم و بسیارمورد توجه شد؛ و خواستم تمام‌را ترجمه کنم در نقل اصطلاحات نظامی‌و تعبیرات مأخوذ اززبان تاتاری چنان‌اشکالاتی پیش راه من آمد که ناچارکار ترجمه‌را به مستر دیوی محوّل کردم که هم‌ازلحاظ آشنائی بفنّ نظام ، وهم از جهت علم به‌زبان،شایستگی بیشتر دارد . ترجمه‌را تمام کردو بهندوستان رفت و کار نشر کتاب بعهدهٔ من افتادو در مراقبت نشرمتن‌و طبع ترجمه‌و تهیّهٔ فهرست به وظیفه‌ای که داشتم عمل کردم. طبع این‌متن‌و ترجمه علاوه براینکه خواننده‌را با محصول فکر تیمور آشنا می کند و از اعمال او آگاه می سازد وسیلهٔ خوبیست از برای تعلّم زبان فارسی که امروز در مستملکات ما درهندوستان بجهت انگلیسیهائی که آنجا مانده‌اند وکار می کنند کمال لزوم را داردو موجب امتیازو مزیت‌است .

سپس‌نامه‌ای‌را نقل می کند که‌مستر دیوی راجع به اصیل‌بودن یا حقیقت نداشتن نسبت این تزوکات به‌شخص امیرتیمور نوشته‌است . وی دلایل و براهینی بر صحّت این انتساب اقامه کرده‌است که کلیهٔ آنها استحسانی‌است‌و خود او اقرار کرده‌است که هیچ برهان تاریخی بر صحیح بودن این نسبت بدست نیاورده است . بعد از آنکه ملخّص اقوال شرف‌الدّین علی یزدی‌را (که سابقاً گذشت ) ترجمه کرده و

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* بنده نمی‌داندآن نسخه فعلا کجاست و آن کتابخانه یاموزهٔ دکترهنتر چه شده‌است .

آورده است می گوید که از روی همین یادداشتهاو بکمك آنها تیمور بعدها تاریخ زندگانی خودو طرحهاو تعبیه‌های خویش‌را شخصاً نگاشت ولی‌چون تاریخ خصوصی بود نسخهٔ آن منتشر نشد، و شرف‌الدّین‌علی یزدی‌ومیرخواند صاحب روضة‌الصّفا آن‌را ندیدند وفقط بدست‌مورخین دورترو متأخرتر (= ابوطالب حسینی !) رسید.

چون این گفتار مستر دیوی مبتنی بر دلیل‌و مدرکی نیست و بطلان این انتساب امروز مسلم‌است ارزش آن‌را ندارد که بتفصیل‌باز گفته شود.

جوزف هوایت در انتهای مقدّمهٔ خود فهرستی از گفتارهای حکیمانهٔ امیرتیمور که‌درضمن این کتاب آمده‌است چاپ کرده‌است. این فهرست‌را که بانگلیسی است شخصی از دوستان وی بنام‌هندرسن Hendersen از روی همین ترجمه ترتیب داده، و عبارات استخراج شده از‌ان‌رادرتحت چهارعنوان: گفتارهای سیاسی، گفتارهای‌نظامی، وقایع‌مهم، گفتارهای دینی، تدوین کرده است.

خردادماه ۱۳۴۲

**مجتبی مینوی**

from *many circumſtances*, accurate tranſlations of ſuch Letters, Memorials, and Treaties, by a gentleman unbiaſſed by party, faction, or intereſt, and under their own immediate protection, muſt be highly acceptable and advantageous to the India Government at home. Such a perſon would alſo be able to tranſlate into the Perſian language all ſuch Treaties and Letters, as they might have occaſion to ſend or write to the native Powers of Hindoſtan; which might be tranſmitted to India under their proper Seal, and conſequently not be liable to an erroneous tranſlation abroad.

"I HAVE been informed from good authority, that ſeveral gentlemen in the Direction, a very few years ago, were ſufficiently convinced of the utility of ſuch an eſtabliſhment. The arrangement and expences of a regular Perſian Secretary's Office at the India Houſe, by ſome who are advocates for œconomy, might be eſteemed an objection: but this, I conceive, may be eaſily obviated. For ſuch a perſon as I have pointed out, might be induced, for a moderate ſalary to undertake the Office: he might reſide in, or at any diſtance from the Capital; the neceſſary papers might be tranſmitted to him by their proper Secretary for the time being, and might be returned by him to the ſame Secretary, with their tranſlations.

"THE foregoing Obſervations contain all that occurs to me on the ſubject, and I ſincerely wiſh, that they may afford you ſome little aſſiſtance, in proving the high importance of Perſian literature; and that you will be enabled to point out the propriety of promoting in this country the ſtudy of a language, ſo neceſſary to the ſervants of the Company, ſo advantageous to the Company themſelves; and, from the extent and wealth of their Territories and Commerce, not an unimportant object to the Britiſh Nation.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM DAVY"

F I N I S.

order to promote the ſtudy of the Perſian language ; and to enable ſuch young men, as were intended for the India ſervice, to acquire the rudiments of that uſeful knowledge at home. The return of theſe gentlemen to India rendered their intentions abortive : but thoſe intentions, nevertheleſs, tend to prove the high idea they entertained of its importance and utility.

"In a word, the neceſſity of a knowledge of the Perſian, to gentlemen reſiding in India, may, I think, be placed in a very clear point of view, by the following conciſe and ſimple Query, or Compariſon. If an inhabitant of France, a Spaniard, a Swede, or a Dane, were to viſit England with a view of improving his fortunes, would it not be neceſſary for him to learn the language of this country, in order to render himſelf capable of filling any employment whatever, either Civil or Military?

"The general ſtudy of the Perſian language would be productive of one other advantage to the Eaſt India Company, well worthy their attention. From the ſmallneſs of the number of thoſe who have acquired a practical knowledge of the Perſian language, and the ſtill ſmaller number who have returned to England poſſeſſed of that knowledge, I have been led to believe, that a Department, which I ſhould conſider of much importance to the Company, has not hitherto been eſtabliſhed. If the ſtudy of the Perſian ſhould meet with the encouragement it merits, and, in conſequence thereof, the application to that ſtudy ſhould become general, many gentlemen might return from India well qualified for the purpoſe, and with ſuch moderate fortunes, as might not place them above the acceptance of the office I am about to point out. It is well known, that the Court of Directors annually receive from their ſettlements in India, Letters, Memorials, Treaties, and other important papers, in the Perſian language, tranſmitted to them as vouchers by their officers abroad. It is true, that tranſlations of ſuch Papers are uſually ſent with the originals. But it muſt be well known to gentlemen converſant in India affairs, that

their junior ſervants, that a knowledge of that language is neceſſary to their promotion. If they were taught to know, that an acquaintance with the Perſian was the principal avenue, through which they were to expect to arrive at ſuperior rank, and that that knowledge for the future would be ſo far ſubſtituted in the place of ſeniority, as to render ſeniority of no avail without it, it would then become the principal object of the junior claſſes of their ſervants; and the language of courſe would be generally ſtudied.

"It may be added, that the above ſcheme, though a partial, would be no bad ſcale, by which to meaſure the abilities of their younger ſervants: for though a knowledge of that language in the perſons who poſſeſſed it, could not point out the extent of their abilities; yet the want of that knowledge in thoſe who could not acquire it, would certainly diſcover thoſe who had no abilities at all. For a man who, ſo circumſtanced, wanted talents, memory, or perſeverance to form a moderate acquaintance with any language whatever; although he might make a tolerable ſmith, or carpenter, or bricklayer, would certainly turn out a very bad merchant, a very indifferent inſpector of a province, or military officer.

"In my ideas of the utility and importance of a knowledge of the Perſian in the ſervants of the Company, I am ſupported by the opinions of ſeveral of the firſt Characters who have appeared in India; amongſt whom, Mr. Hastings, now Preſident of the ſupreme Council in *Bengal*, and the late Governor Vansittart, are particularly diſtinguiſhed. Thoſe gentlemen did not think the Perſian unworthy their attention; they found leiſure to acquire a knowledge of that, and, conſequently, of the language of Hindoſtan; in which they doubtleſs found their advantage. And I have been credibly informed, that both Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings had in contemplation the eſtabliſhment of an Academy in England, in order

maſters of the language, and that in a very moderate ſpace of time.

" THE advantages ariſing from a knowledge of the Perſian to gentlemen in India have not, till within theſe few years, been perfectly underſtood. In fact, its *general* utility has not exiſted but from that period, when the Company found it neceſſary to place the entire adminiſtration of the provinces of *Bengal* and *Bahar* in the hands of their own proper ſervants. It is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a circumſtance which did not immediately ſtrike many of the ableſt of their ſuperior officers abroad, could not ſuddenly engage the attention of their adminiſtration at home. And hence we muſt account for the little encouragement hitherto given to the ſtudy of the Perſian language.

" BUT I conceive it is now evident, that the Court of Directors, from the information which they have from time to time received, are fully convinced of its great utility; and that they are determined to promote the cultivation of it to the utmoſt of their power. For to this intention we muſt aſcribe the very neceſſary encouragement which they have given to the learned Author of the Perſian and Arabic Dictionary; the firſt volume of which has been already publiſhed. Of this valuable work, as appears by the printed propoſals, they have engaged to take one hundred and fifty copies: which, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they intend to diſtribute among their ſervants abroad, and thereby to facilitate the ſtudy of the language, now rendered infinitely more eaſy than it was formerly, by the labours of the foregoing and another learned Author; whoſe Grammar, added to this Dictionary, has entirely removed every poſſible impediment. Indeed, all that appears wanting at preſent to promote a general application to the Perſian in India, is a proper encouragement on the part of the Eaſt India Company, ſupported by their orders and authority; and a conſequent conviction in

have occaſion to correſpond, ſometimes to negotiate with the chief men of the diſtricts and provinces, where he may be, or through which he may have occaſion to paſs: and theſe negotiations, however trifling they may at firſt appear, have been frequently known to lead to matters of vaſt importance. This is another, and, I think, no bad reaſon, why an officer ought to be acquainted with the Perſian and Hindoſtan languages.

"In oppoſition to the foregoing it may be aſſerted, that the difficulties attending the ſtudy and acquiſition of a copious and elegant language, differing totally from our own in phraſe and idiom, and cloathed in unknown, complex, and obſcure characters, would be inſurmountable to many; and that the various occupations and buſineſſes, in which the Company's ſervants in India are employed, cannot afford them leiſure and opportunity to engage in ſo troubleſome and arduous an undertaking; and therefore, as heretofore, the acquiſition of this valuable knowledge muſt be left to thoſe young men, who, from curioſity, ambition, or ſuperior abilities, are inclined to devote themſelves to ſuch difficult ſtudies. In reply to the *firſt* of the above objections, I can, from perſonal knowledge, venture to affirm, That a very moderate ſhare of abilities and of memory, ſupported by a common proportion of perſeverance and attention, are ſufficient to overcome the ideal difficulties, ariſing from the copiouſneſs of the language itſelf, from the difference of the idiom, and from the obſcurity of the character.

"In anſwer to the *ſecond*, I will allow that the occupations and employments of the Company's junior ſervants are many and various; and that if pleaſure and diſſipation be admitted of the number, they have not a moment to ſpare. But ſuppoſing it practicable for them to curtail their attendance on the laſt mentioned important buſineſſes but for two ſhort hours in the day, I do aſſert, that they may with eaſe make themſelves

maſters

and the grievances complained of generally originate from their knavery, avarice, and extortion.

"TRUE it is, that in *Bengal*, the Dialect bearing that name is now moſt frequently uſed in the tranſacting of mercantile concerns; but it does not follow, that the Perſian language, and that of Hindoſtan (vulgarly called the *Moors*) are therefore entirely ſuperfluous: on the contrary, I conceive it to be eaſy to prove, that if the Company's civil ſervants were generally acquainted with the Perſian, they would find themſelves enabled to fill every department in which they could poſſibly be placed, without the aſſiſtance of any medium whatever.

"IN a *private commercial light* alſo, I think, much may be ſaid in its favour. Individuals, ſuch as could find leiſure to ſtudy the language, would reap a ſingular advantage from the knowledge of it. In the weſtern provinces of Hindoſtan, though not ſo univerſally in Bengal, the Perſian is uſed in all mercantile tranſactions: and if the ſtudy of it was generally followed, and applied to practice, hundreds of *Surcors* and *Banians*, who now eat up two thirds of the merchants profits, oppreſs the country under the name of Engliſh *Gomauſhtehs*, and brand the character of their maſters with infamy, might be diſcarded and turned adrift; or at leaſt meet with ſuch checks, as would, in a great meaſure, put a ſtop to their rogueries.

"IT may be further obſerved, that the ſtudy of the Perſian is by no means unworthy the attention of the *Military*, for this plain reaſon; becauſe it is the beſt, and indeed the only road to a perfect acquaintance with the language of Hindoſtan; without which, no officer, however great his military abilities, can be eſteemed properly qualified to command a battalion of our native troops. The loſs of more than one detachment from that very deficiency, has proved this beyond diſpute. It may be added, that an officer on a detached command, muſt always

have

abroad throughout the provinces and diſtricts of the Company's territories, for the purpoſes of ſuperintending the cultivation and regulation of the countries, the adminiſtration of juſtice in the *Kucheries*, or native courts of Judicature, and the collection of the Revenues *. Many alſo are appointed to the different Factories, to ſuperintend the fabrication and making up of the Inveſtments for the European market.

" HAVING given this detail of the employments, to which the ſenior and junior civil ſervants of the Company are in rotation appointed, I think it will be needleſs to dwell on the great utility, and indeed abſolute neceſſity of a knowledge of ſome language or other, underſtood in the country, to gentlemen ſo employed †; or to ſhew how much more effectually they would be able, with ſuch knowledge, to do their duty, than they can now through the medium of their *Surcors*, or native Clerks ‡, to whom, from an ignorance of the language, they are obliged, in a great meaſure, to delegate their authority, to pay an implicit attention to their advice and opinions, and, what is ſtill worſe, from the above deficiency, to receive through them every complaint and grievance of the ſubject; though the complaints are frequently levelled againſt thoſe very Agents,

* It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that this arrangement took place but a very few years ago; and therefore the importance of the Perſian in the point of view now under conſideration, is to be dated from that period only.

† It is true, that *in Bengal*, but in Bengal only, an acquaintance with the dialect of that province, might be made to anſwer the purpoſes of gentlemen employed as above-mentioned: but as that dialect would be of very little uſe to them, even in the neighbouring province of Bahar, much leſs in any other part of Hindoſtan; as the Perſian, on the contrary, is the polite language throughout the Empire; and as it is impoſſible to acquire a knowledge of that, without forming, at the ſame time, a familiar acquaintance with the *Moors*, from the intimate connection between them; and as the *Moors* is the vulgar tongue of all the Mahummudan natives, and is as well known to the generality of the Aborigines or Hindoos, as to the Mahummudans themſelves; for theſe reaſons it is evident, that the Perſian is moſt worthy the attention of Europeans.

‡ The *Surcors* are all Hindoos; and by ſome little knowledge of the Engliſh, which they are careful to acquire, are enabled to act as Interpreters to the gentlemen who employ them.

and

quate degree of knowledge. A Perſian interpreter ſhould not only be able to ſpeak fluently in the Language, but to read all ſuch Letters as he may receive; not only to read all ſuch Letters, but to anſwer them with his own hand, if the importance of the ſubject, of which they treat, ſhould render it neceſſary. Otherwiſe the ſecret negotiations and correſpondence of government are liable to be made public through the medium of the native *Munchees*, or Writers, whom he will be obliged to employ and truſt. Some natives he muſt have, to aſſiſt in the ordinary buſineſs, from its great multiplicity; but even this, by a proper encouragement of the ſtudy of the Language, might be obviated. Junior ſervants, when qualified, might be appointed to act under their Seniors, and the natives be totally excluded. And ſuch a Plan, I am convinced, would be productive of much advantage.

"FROM the foregoing hints, I dare ſay, you will be able to prove, that the ſtudy of the Perſian, in a political point of view, is highly worthy of encouragement.

"THE general ſtudy of this valuable Language, abſtracted from all political views, is a matter of very great importance to the Eaſt India Company. How it is poſſible that their civil ſervants ſhould be able to do their duty effectually in the various poſts and offices to which they are appointed, without any knowledge of it, is difficult to conceive. That by far the greater number of them do perform the buſineſſes allotted to them without a knowledge of any of the country Languages, is certain; but that the manner in which they perform them muſt be exceedingly defective, every one will be convinced, by reflecting on the nature of the offices which they fill. Servants of all ranks * are detached from the preſidency, and ſpread

* By theſe are meant Writers, Factors, junior and ſenior Merchants, and in the more important departments, often members of the Council: but theſe laſt are generally aſſiſted by European Interpreters.

of the ſubject, gives a very ſtriking inſtance of the fatal conſequences that may enſue from employing native interpreters in our tranſactions with the princes of Hindoſtan; and judiciouſly points out the poſitive neceſſity of entruſting the execution of ſuch important concerns to European gentlemen only *. Nothing indeed can be more abſurd or dangerous, than for the government in India to rely on the honour and integrity of natives for the tranſaction of ſuch weighty, political matters, as I have pointed out; and more eſpecially to confide in that inferior claſs of them, who are content to bear the yoke of ſervitude under a foreign power from neceſſity, or pecuniary motives. Such are all the native ſervants to Europeans. But that natives of a ſuperior rank are not altogether proof againſt the influence of gold, I have met with ſeveral inſtances. A very ſtrong evidence of the above aſſertion I have now in my poſſeſſion; namely, exact copies of all the Letters wrote by the reigning Mogul, *Shaah Aulum*, in the years 71, 72, 73, to the ſeveral independent Princes of the Empire. Theſe copies were regularly tranſmitted by one of the King's confidential ſecretaries, and often came into my poſſeſſion, before the perſons to whom they were ſent could receive the originals. By this means the councils, negotiations, and intrigues of the court of Dehli, and of others, the native Powers and Princes of Hindoſtan, were entirely laid open to our inſpection. This happened during the period that I had the honour to fill the poſt of Perſian Secretary to Sir Robert Barker, the then commander in chief of the forces of *Bengal*. The above, I think, is a ſtrong and pointed proof: and it follows, that European gentlemen only can, in prudence and in policy, be entruſted with this important buſineſs; and that a partial knowledge of the Perſian Language is by no means ſufficient to qualify even them to be truſted. To be able ſimply to converſe in the Perſian, is a very inade-

* Vide Hiſt. of the Military Tranſactions of the Britiſh Nation in Hindoſtan. Vol. I. p. 350, &c.

quate

"WE are to conſider, that the territories now under the dominion of the Eaſt India Company, the provinces of *Bengal* and *Bahar*, with part of *Oriſſa*, the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and the ſettlements on that of *Malabar*, are together twice as extenſive as Great Britain and Ireland. In a word, ſuch is their extent, and ſuch their importance, that it has been deemed neceſſary to keep on foot an army of fifty thouſand diſciplined men for their defence and protection: for that is the amount of the forces of the three eſtabliſhments, *Bengal*, *Madraſs*, and *Bombay*. Theſe rich and fertile territories, except where embraced by the ocean, are ſeparated and ſurrounded by native independent Princes and Powers, ſome of them exceedingly formidable. It follows, that dominions ſo extenſive and ſo ſituated, muſt be ſecured and protected as much by policy as by arms: a vaſt political ſyſtem muſt be eſtabliſhed; an exact and perfect balance of power muſt be preſerved; the weak muſt be ſupported, the too powerful muſt be circumſcribed and depreſſed. For theſe purpoſes Friendſhips, Alliances, and Treaties, muſt be formed with ſome in oppoſition to others; and theſe Alliances, Treaties, and Friendſhips, muſt again be diſſolved, and give way to others, as the ſtrength, influence, and reſources of the different independent Princes of the Empire may be diminiſhed or increaſed. Hence the everlaſting train of conferences, correſpondences, and negotiations, with the native Powers. Hence the neceſſity of watching their motions, diſcovering their hidden ſtrength and reſources, and diving into their ſecret councils, connections, and alliances. Theſe are all buſineſſes of the firſt importance; they require the ſtricteſt integrity, and the moſt profound ſecrecy in the negotiators: and finally, theſe buſineſſes are all to be tranſacted in, and by the aſſiſtance of, the Perſian tongue.

"MR. ORME, a very accurate and able hiſtorian, whoſe long reſidence in India enabled him to acquire a perfect knowledge

*Gloucester, Sept.* 24. 1779.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

IN compliance with your repeated applications, I have at length taken up my pen, with a determination to reply as fully as possible to all your Enquiries.

"I CANNOT communicate any "important facts of times or places, when and where a want of knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company has been attended with particular disadvantage to their affairs *in a political point of view*:" one only, supported by proof, occurs to my memory, of which I shall shortly take notice. Such facts, in their full extent at least, have not lately existed; because, for some years past, a a few gentlemen have been found tolerably well qualified to act as Persian interpreters in the transaction of the Company's more important concerns with the native Powers. That such facts did formerly exist, is certain; and that the want of such knowledge now would be attended with still worse effects is as certain. To prove which, I think, you will meet with little difficulty. The same reasons which will establish the authority of the fore-going observations, will moreover be sufficient to prove the positive necessity of a still more extensive and general knowledge of the Persian, than has hitherto been acquired by the gentlemen in India.

WE

*THE foregoing Specimens I intended to have introduced by an Eſſay of ſome extent on the great importance and utility of the* Perſian *Language, and by a Propoſal for eſtabliſhing a* Perſian *Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of Oxford. But having ſince met with a pamphlet of much merit, written ſome years ago by Governor* HASTINGS, *directed to the ſame object, I have thought it unneceſſary to proſecute my deſign.*

*Whilſt I was engaged in writing the intended* Eſſay *and* Propoſal, *I received from Mr.* DAVY, *in anſwer to my repeated enquiries, the following* LETTER: *which places the importance of the* Perſian *Language for tranſacting the Company's affairs in* India, *in ſo clear and juſt a light; is founded throughout on ſuch ſtriking facts; and ſupported and illuſtrated with ſo many judicious obſervations and remarks; that I conceived it to be highly worthy the attention of the* Eaſt India Company, *and of the Gentlemen in their ſervice. Impreſſed with this idea, notwithſtanding I afterwards relinquiſhed my original deſign, I determined, if poſſible, to lay the Letter before the Public: but as it was communicated for my private uſe only, Mr.* DAVY'*s approbation was neceſſary for the purpoſe; which, at my particular ſolicitation, he has been pleaſed to grant.*

I may enjoy health, and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Every one of theſe is RUDER; whoſe infinite power I reverence: RUDER, whoſe fullneſs is in all. All that has been, it is He. All that is, it is He. All that ſhall be, it is He.

*The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the* Judger Bede: *to which it may be curious to ſubjoin a Deſcription of* RUDER, *to whom it is addreſſed, as contained in another ſacred Book, intitled the* Atherbun Bede.

THE Angels having aſſembled themſelves in Heaven before RUDER, made obeiſance and aſked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would deſcribe myſelf by ſimilitude. I always was, I always am, and always ſhall be. There is no other, ſo that I can ſay to you, I am like Him. In this Me is the inward eſſence, and the exterior ſubſtance of all things. I am the primitive cauſe of all. All things that exiſt in the Eaſt, or Weſt, or North, or South, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are tranſcendent. I am truth. I am the ſpirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES.* I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the firſt, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpoſe do I exiſt, that whoſoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all books, and all their ordinances. And whoſoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will underſtand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to thoſe who practiſe virtue, will I give fullneſs and tranquillity.

RUDER having pronounced theſe words to the Angels, was abſorbed in his own brightneſs.

* The ſacred Writings of the Hindoos in the *Shanſcrit* language.

live. O RUDER, turn my underſtanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beſeech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beaſt, in quiet and ſecurity. Preſerve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with ſickneſs: do thou, RUDER, give them health, and drive diſeaſes far from them. We all come before thee in ſupplication. Grant unto us all thoſe bleſſings, which our fathers aſked of thee for us, when they were deſirous of bringing us into exiſtence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in ſacrifice and prayer unto thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou ſource of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wanteſt nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employeſt thy arms for my ſecurity, who haſt thouſands of thouſands of weapons; ſcatter my enemies, and deſtroy them: for thou, RUDER, art ſupreme in every part of nature. Exert for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth: which ſhew themſelves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various ſpecies of living creatures, in the waters, and in food provided for the ſupport of life. Thou, who deſtroyeſt all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidſt the guardians of the highways and in the places of worſhip; in all thou art the infinite RUDER: in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to diſarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the Eaſt, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the Weſt, and ten times toward the North, I bow myſelf before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid that I may enjoy health and ſee the deſtruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the Eaſt, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the Weſt, ten times toward the North, and ten times with my eyes on Heaven above, I bow myſelf before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whoſe arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that

I may

I REVERENCE thee in the Sun, which is thy Image, whil it ſcatters a hundred thouſand vivifying rays over the univerſe whilſt in meridian brightneſs it diffuſes gladneſs; nor leſs wher at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turr away that anger from me. I reverence him who is the ſource of joy to living creatures, whoſe nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increaſe of age. — To Him and all that ſprings from Him I owe reverence and honour.

O RUDER, ſtring thy bow to defend me from all my open or ſecret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to deſtroy them. When thou haſt deſtroyed my enemies and unſtrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced; then grant that I likewiſe may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needeſt not to ſtring the bow, nor to ſharpen the points of arrows. Thou needeſt not the ſword like other ſwords, to accompliſh thy purpoſes. O thou who canſt fulfil deſires, whoſe deſigns no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every ſide, and drive my enemies far from me.

O RUDER, thy arm is like ſhining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All cauſes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cauſe of cauſes. Thou art ſpace. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beaſts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the Guide. Every light that ſhines is thy light. Thou entereſt into all: thou ſuſtaineſt all.

O PUNISHER of thoſe who go aſtray, O Lord of life, O pureſt of Beings! terrify not thy creatures, ſtrike them not, deſtroy them not: nor let even one of them ſuffer pain from thee. O thou, who giveſt ſtrength to the feeble, and medicines to the ſick; grant me thy ſupport, that I may enjoy health and live.

A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the *Shanſcrit* Language, and tranſlated by C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Eſq; from a Perſic Verſion of *Dara Shekoo*, a Son of *Shah Jehan*, Emperor of Hindoſtan.

O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy Majeſty and in thy Diſpleaſure. I reverence thy Arrows, which convey deſtruction; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou beſtoweſt joy, and doeſt away all ſins.

O THOU, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, diſpel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful and defend them from harm: and grant that I may remain ſecure under thy guardianſhip and protection. Thou art the great Phyſician of Phyſicians! heal thou my infirmities; diſperſe my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

I REVE-

From the repoſitory of his beneficence proceeds the autumnal gale,
Which beſpangles with gold the carpet of the garden.
It is his preſence that enflameth the orb of day,
From whence every atom derives its light.
Should he hide his countenance from the two great luminaries of the world,
Their *mighty* ſpheres would deſcend quick into the area of annihilation.
From the vault of heaven to the centre of the earth,
Which ever way we direct our thought and imagination;
Whether we deſcend, or haſten upwards,
We ſhall not diſcover one atom uninfluenced by his power.
Wiſdom is confounded in the contemplation of his eſſence;
The inveſtigation of his ways exceeds the powers of man.
The angels bluſh at their want of comprehenſion;
And the heavens are aſtoniſhed at their own motion.

## The Exordium of JAUMI's Poem, entitled, *Eusoof* and *Zoolleikha.*

IN the name of him whoſe name is the refuge of the Souls *of the faithful*;
Whoſe praiſe is the ornament of eloquent tongues.
The moſt high, the only God, the eternal, the omniſcient;
He who beſtoweth ſtrength and *power* on the feeble *and the helpleſs*.
The heavens he illumines with multitudes of conſtellations;
And with the human race he decorateth the earth, as with ſtars.
He who prepared the vaulted roof of the revolving ſphere,
Who raiſed up the quadruple fold of the elements.
He who gives fragrance to the boſom of the roſe-bud,
And ornamenteth the parent-ſhrub with wreaths of flowers.
He weaveth the garment for the brides of the ſpring,
And teacheth the graceful cypreſs to erect his head on the border *of the lake*.
He crowneth with ſucceſs the virtuous intention,
And humbleth the pride of the ſelf-conceited.
He accompanies the ſolitude of thoſe who watch the midnight *taper*;
He paſſeth the day with the children of affliction.
From the ſea of his bounty iſſues the vernal cloud,
Which waters alike the thorn and the jeſſamine.

From

# SPECIMENS
OF
# COMPOSITION
IN THE
# PERSIAN LANGUAGE

See the PREFACE.

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Samarcande | —— | Summurkund. |
| Sebaſte | —— | Seewaus. |
| Sultan | —— | Sooltaun. |
| Syria | —— | Shaum. |

T.

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Tauris | —— | Tubburaze. |
| Tekil | —— | Tukkul. |
| Termed | —— | Turmuz. |
| Timur | —— | Timour. |
| Timur Bec | —— | Abu'l Munſoor Timour, and Ameer Timour. |
| Tocatmich | —— | Touktummiſh. |
| Tocluc | —— | Tughulluk. |
| Touchi | —— | Jouji. |
| Tranſoxiane | —— | Mauwur u Nuhur. |

U.

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Uzbec | —— | Ouzbuk. |

V.

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Veli | —— | Aali. |

Y.

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Yakou | —— | Jaukoo. |
| Youſef | —— | Euſoof. |

Z.

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Zagataie | —— | Chugtauee. |

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Deli | — | Dehli. |
| Diarbekir | — | Deaur a Bukkur. |

E.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Egypt | — | Miſſur. |
| Elias | — | Ouleaus. |
| Emeſſa | — | Hums. |
| Emir | — | Ameer. |
| Enderabe | — | Anduraub. |
| Erlat | — | Aurlaut. |

F.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fars | — | Fauris. |

G.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gehanghir | — | Jehaungheer. |
| Gelair | — | Jullauir. |
| Georgia | — | Goorjiſtaun. |
| Gete | — | Jitteh. |
| Ghengis Can | — | Chungauze Khaun. |
| Gihon | — | Jihoon. |

H.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hadgi | — | Haujee. |
| Herat | — | Hurraut. |
| Houlacou Can | — | Hullaukoo Khaun |
| Huſſein | — | Hooſſein. |

I.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Irac Agemi | — | Erauk a Ajjum. |
| Irac Arabi | — | Erauk a Arrub |
| Iſpahan | — | Isfahaun. |

K.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kech | — | Kuſh. |
| Kei Coſru | — | Ki Khiſſero. |

| La Croix. | | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|---|
| Kerbela | — | Kurbullau. |
| Ketuer | — | Kuttoor. |
| Kirman | — | Kurmaun. |
| Kivac | — | Khiook. |

M.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Macan | — | Maukhaun. |
| Mahmoud | — | Muhmud. |
| Mahomet | — | Mahummud. |
| Malatia | — | Mulluteah. |
| Malek | — | Mullik. |
| Mazenderan | — | Mauzinduraun. |
| Mellou Can | — | Mulloo Khaun. |
| Mir | — | Ameer. |
| Miranchah | — | Meeraun Shaah. |
| Mirza | — | Ameer Zaudeh. |
| Mobarekchah | — | Mubbauruk Shaah |
| Mouſſa | — | Mooſi. |
| Muaid | — | Muviud. |

N.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nevian | — | Nooyaun. |

O.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Oladgia Itou | — | Aljauitoo. |
| Olagiai | — | Aljaiè. |
| Olatchou | — | Aulaujou. |
| Oluc | — | Allugh. |
| Oughanian | — | Afghaun, and Oughaun. |
| Ourous Can | — | Auroos Khaun. |
| Oxus | — | Jihoon. |

P.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Poulad | — | Boulau. |

S.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Saddic | — | Suddeuk. |

Samarcande

The Names of the principal Perſons and Places mentioned in this Work, according to the different Orthography of Mr. Davy, and Monſ. Petis de la Croix; accommodated to the Uſe of thoſe who wiſh to compare the different Accounts.

| La Croix. | Mr. Davy. |
|---|---|
| **A.** | |
| Abbas | Ubbaus. |
| Aboubecre | Aboo Bukkur. |
| Akitimur | Eekoo Timour. |
| Aleppo | Hullub. |
| Ali | Aali. |
| Anatolia | Room. |
| Azad | Auzaud. |
| Azerbijane | Azzurbauejaun. |
| **B.** | |
| Bagdad | Bughdaud. |
| Bajazet | Keeſur. |
| Balc | Bullukh. |
| Barcoc | Burkook. |
| Bedakchan | Buddukſhaun. |
| Bei | Begh. |
| Berlas | Burlaus. |
| Bocara | Bokhaura. |
| **C.** | |
| Cabul | Kaubul. |
| Cabulchah | Kaubul Shaah. |
| Cachmir | Kuſhmeer. |
| Can | Khaun. |
| Candahar | Kundahaur. |
| Cannoudge | Kunnouj. |
| Capchac | Kipjauk. |
| Cara | Kurrau. |
| Carezm | Khauruzm. |
| Carſchi | Kurſhee. |
| Caratchar | Kurrauchaur. |
| Catlan | Khuttulaun. |
| Cazagan | Kurgun. |
| Cazanchi | Kurraunchee. |
| Cayaſeddin | Gheaus u deen. |
| Chahmanſour | Shaah Munſoor. |
| Charoc | Shaarokh. |
| Cheik | Sheikh. |
| Chekidgek | Chuckchuck. |
| Chir | Share. |
| Chiras | Sharauze. |
| Chirkunt | Sharekund. |
| Chirouan | Shurwaun. |
| Cogende | Khojjund. |
| Coja | Khaujeh. |
| Condoz | Kunduz. |
| Coraſſane | Khorauſaun. |
| Cotan | Khuttun. |
| Cotluc | Kuttulug. |
| **D.** | |
| Damaſcus | Dummiſhk. |

Deli

## W.



## Y.

## T.



## U.



## V.

Taxes,

teachers

I.



J.

B.



Burraun-

# INDEX

## OF THE

# PRINCIPAL MATTERS.

## U.



## Y.

 second

T.

MECCA,

BOULAU

# I N D E X

## O F

# PERSONS AND PLACES.

N.B. *m.* ſignifies *mentioned.*

قراول دست راست قراول دست چپ

هراول

فوج اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم

هراول چپاول هراول شغاول

چپاول شغاول

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم ] اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم ]

هراول برانغار هراول جرانغار

برانغار جرانغار

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم ] اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم ]

فوج امیرزاده ها فوج خویشاوندان

قول

بیست وهشت اویماق که بتمغا

نرسیده اند

---

تم

FINIS.

AND I iſſued directions to the Ameer Zaudeh Aboo Bukkur, who led the reſerve of the right, to advance upon the Koul of Yeldurrum Bauezeed, † who was poſted on an eminence: and laſtly I myſelf, with the forces of the Koul and the Ouyemauk, turned the face of reſolution toward mine enemy. Book II.

THE armies of Keeſur were defeated, and put to flight at the firſt onſet. And Sooltaun Muhmood purſued the vanquiſhed Keeſur; and he made him my priſoner, and he brought him to the royal tent. By this diſpoſition alſo I conquered Touktummiſh Khaun, and cauſed his ſtandard to be inverted.

IF the enemy ſhould become formidable, and throw into diſorder the Chuppauwul, and the Shuckauwul, and the Burraunghaur, and the Jurraunghaur, and ſhould advance to charge the Koul; it is then the duty of the emperor to conduct himſelf with courage and with fortitude, and to proceed to repel and diſperſe the foe.

THUS I acted in the engagement with Shaah Munſoor, who penetrated even to the Koul of my army. I oppoſed him in my own perſon, face to face, until he fell lifeleſs on the plain.

THE PLAN OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF FORTY SQUADRONS, FORMED FROM THE TWELVE OUYEMAUK WHO HAD OBTAINED THE TUMGHAU.

† Bajazet.

وبامیر زاده ابو بکر که امیر فوج طرح دست راست بود حکم کردم که بر قول ایلدرم بایزید که بر پشته ایستاده بود ترکتاز آورد ومن خود با افواج قول ولشکرهای اویماق روی همت بطرف قیصر آوردم

ودر حمله اول شکست بر افواج قیصر افتاد وسلطان محمود خان بتعاقب قیصر شتافته ویرا دست گیر کرده بدرگاه حاضر آورد وتوقتمش خان را نیز بهمین تزوکات شکست دادم وفرمودم که علم ویرا نکونسار گردانیدند

واگر غنیم قزاقی * کرده افواج چپاول وشغاول وبرانغار وجرانغارا را بر هم زند وخودرا بفوج قول رساند سلطان را واجب است که پای شجاعت در رکاب صبر مستحکم گردانیده متوجه دفع ورفع غنیم شود

وچنانچه من در جنگ شاه منصور کردم که خودرا بمن رسانید بذات خود رو برو شدم تا آنکه بر خاک هلاک افتاد

ترتیب آراستن چهل فوج از لشکر دوازده ویماقی که به تمغا رسیده اند

AND if at this period the commanders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur ſhew themſelves deficient in their duty, the royal princes, and thoſe related to the imperial family, who are the reſerves of the Burraunghaur and of the Jurraunghaur, muſt advance to the aſſault.

AND they muſt keep their eyes on the commander and the ſtandard of the commander, and preſs upon the foe with valour and intrepidity. They muſt endeavour to ſeize the general of the hoſtile army; and they muſt ſtrive to invert the ſtandard of the foe.

AND if, notwithſtanding theſe ſhocks, the enemy ſtill remain firm and unmoved, the royal guards, and the ſelect warriors of the Koul, and the forces of the Ouyemauk, which were formed in the rear of the Koul, muſt ruſh forward, together and at once, to the charge.

AND if at this period the victory be not decided, it is the duty of the emperor, with fortitude of heart and with exalted reſolution, to put himſelf and the Koul of his army into motion.

THUS I acted in my engagement with Keeſur. I commanded the Ameer Zaudeh Meeraun Shaah, who was the leader of the right wing of my forces, to charge headlong on the left of Keeſur. And I ſent orders to Ameer Zaudeh Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun, and to Ameer Soolamaun, who commanded my left wing, to attack the right of Keeſur.

AND

واكر در اين وقت اميران برانغار وجرانغار زبوني نمايند امير زادكاني كه طرح برانغار اند وخويشاوندان كه طرح جرانغار اند بر غنيم تركتاز آورند

وبايد كه نظر ايشان بر سردار وعلم سردار باشد وبشجاعت ومردي صف شكن غنيم كردند وقصد كرفتن سردار نمايند وكوشش كنند كه علم مخالفانرا نكونسار كردانند

واكر با وجود اين ضربها غنيم قايم بوده باشد در اين وقت بايد كه افواج متفرقه وبهادران قول وافواج الوساتي كه در عقب قول آراسته شده بودند بيكمرتبه هجوم آورده تركتاز نمايند

واكر در اين وقت فتح نشود سلطان را است كه خود با دل قوي وهمت بلند در حركت آيد

چنانچه من در جنك قيصر كردم كه باميرزاده ميران شاه كه سردار دست راست بود امر نمودم كه از دست چپ قيصر سركن پركن در آيد وباميرزاده سلطان محمود خان وامير سليمان كه اميران دست چپ بودند يرليغ فرستادم كه بر دست راست قيصر هجوم آورند

وباامير

is at this crisis the duty of the leader of the Chuppauwul to detach his six squadrons one after the other to support the grand Hurrauwul; and afterwards to advance, himself, to the charge.

AND in the same manner also, let the commander of the Shuckauwul push forward successively his six squadrons to reinforce those who are engaged; and lastly let the commander himself advance into action. Thus, by the power and assistance of Almighty God, when eighteen charges shall have been made on the line of the enemy, they will break and disperse.

BUT if notwithstanding those shocks received by the foe, they should continue resolute and firm, it is then the duty of the chief of the Burraunghaur to dispatch forward his Hurrauwul, and of the leader of the Jurraunghaur to send forth his Hurrauwul also.

WHEN those two Hurrauwuls advance and charge on the right and on the left of the enemy, their order and their strength shall certainly be broken.

BUT if it should come to pass that the foe still continues firm, let the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur order their squadrons successively on to the charge. And if they see that the enemy give not way to the efforts of the imperial forces, the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur must themselves advance, and rush upon the foe.

ضرب مرتبه بمرتبه بر غنیم زده شود بهم بر آیند وشکسته شوند دربن وقت امیر چپاول را است که شش فوج خودرا دفعه بدفعه بکومک فرستد وخود هم ترکتاز آورد

وهمچنین امیر افواج شغاول فوجهاي ششکانه خودرا بهدد افواج پیش روانه سازد وخودرا هم برساند که بحول الله وقوته چون هژده ضرب بر غنیم زده آید شکسته وگسیخته کردند

واگر با وجود خوردن این ضربها غنیم خیرکي نهاید امیر برانغاررا باید که هراول خودرا براند وامیر جرانغار نیز هراول خودرا بدواند

چون این هر دو هراول از چپ وراست در آیند لشکر غنیم البته بي تاب ونا توان کردد

واگر غنیم خیره باشد امیر برانغار وامیر جرانغار افواج خودرا مرتبه بمرتبه بر غنیم برانند واگر بینند که افواج غنیم را از افواج قاهره شکستي نرسیده امیران برانغار وجرانغار خودها متوجه دفع ورفع دشمنان شوند

واگر

Book II.

And that two Kurrauwul Beghs, † with detachments of their brotherhood, ſhould be poſted to the right and to the left of the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul; and that they ſhould be the Deedbaun ‡ on the army of the enemy.

And I ordained that no one of the commanders of the forty ſquadrons, until he received orders from me, ſhould preſume to enter into battle; and that until the moment of his ſervice arrived, he ſhould not move from his ſtation; and that he ſhould ſtand ready and prepared for action:

And when he received orders to engage, that he ſhould accommodate his mode of attack to that of the enemy; and that he ſhould obſerve in what manner the foe advanced into battle, and counteract his deſigns; and that he ſhould, by ſkilful and judicious diſpoſitions, carry into effect ſuch of his own movements as had been traverſed by the enemy.

And I ordained, when the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul began the action, that the leader of the grand Hurrauwul ſhould order his ſix ſquadrons to charge ſucceſſively; that by ſix ſhocks, repeatedly given, the enemy may be broken and thrown into confuſion. It

† *Kurrauwul Beghs*; chiefs of the light troops or ſcouts.

‡ *Deedbaun*; obſervers, people appointed to reconoitre the motions of the enemy.

ودو قراول بيكي را با جماعه برادران
بر دست راست وچپ هراول مقرر نمايند كه
ديدبان لشكر غنيم باشند

وامر نمودم كه امراي افواج چهلكانه
ما دام كه يرليغ من بايشان نرسد بجنك در نيايند
وتا نوبت جنك بايشان نرسد دست برد ننمايند ليكن
مستعد وآماده جنك باشند

وچون حكم جنك بايشان برسد روش
غنيم را ديده بجنك در آيند كه غنيم از كدام راه
بجنك مي در آيد آن راه را بر ايشان بر بندند وهر
راهي كه غنيم بر بندد آنرا به تدبير بكشايند

وامر نمودم كه چون هراول هراول
بجنك مبادرت نمايد امير هراول افواج ششكانه
خودرا متعاقب يكديكر بجنك اندازد كه چون شش
ضرب

before the left of the Koul; and that thoſe troops ſhould be bodies of reſerve, and that they ſhould diſpatch ſuccour to every quarter, where re-inforcement ſhould be wanted:

AND that ſix ſquadrons ſhould conſtitute the Burraunghaur, and that one other ſquadron ſhould be appointed the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur: and thus alſo, that ſix ſquadrons ſhould form the Jurraunghaur; and that one other ſquadron ſhould be nominated the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.

AND thus alſo I ordained, that ſix ſquadrons ſhould be poſted in the front of the Burraunghaur, and that they ſhould be denominated the Chuppauwul; and that one other ſquadron ſhould be formed, and appointed the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul:

AND that in the ſame manner ſix other ſquadrons ſhould be ſtationed in the front of the Jurraunghaur; and that they ſhould be called the Shuckauwul; and that one other choſen ſquadron ſhould be appointed the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.

AND I ordained that ſix other ſquadrons, headed by diſtinguiſhed Ameers, and compoſed of warriors of proof and experience, ſhould be advanced before the Chuppauwul and the Shuckauwul; and that they ſhould be called the grand Hurrauwul:

AND that one other ſquadron, over and above thoſe ſix ſquadrons, ſhould be poſted in their front; and be denominated the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul:

AND

خودرا مراتب دارند که افواج ایشان طرح باشد که بهر جا مدد باید رسانید کومک نمایند

ودر برانغار شش فوج مقرر نمایند ویک فوج دیگر هراول برانغار مقرر باشد وهمچنین در جرانغار شش فوج آراسته یک فوج دیگر بهراولي جرانغار مقرر دارند

وهمچنین امر نمودم که شش فوج در پیش افواج برانغار مقرر کردانند وآنرا چپاول نام کذارند ویک فوج دیکررا آراسته هراول چپاول کنند

وهمچنین در پیش افواج جرانغار شش فوج معین نمایند وشغاول نام نهند یک فوج آراسته دیکر هراول شغاول گردانند

ودر پیش افواج چپاول وشغاول شش فوج از امراي کار کرده وبهادران ازموده آراسته ساخته هراول بزورک مقرر کردانند

ویک فوج سواي این شش فوج هراول مقرر کرده پیشتر معین دارند وهراول هراول نام کنند

ودو

THUS also I ordained, that if the enemy should in number exceed forty thousand horse-men, that the eyes of the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, and the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees, and the select warriors, and the soldiers in general should be fixed on my victorious standards. † Book II.

AND I commanded, that the chief of every squadron to whom I issued my orders, should act conformably to the tenour of those orders, and presume not to deviate therefrom; and that every one of the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, who was tardy in performing, or disobeyed, the orders which I sent unto him, should be instantly put to death; and that his Kotul, who is the expecter of promotion, should be appointed to his command.

AND I ordained, that from among the forty Ouyemauk of the Aloosaut, the Kushoonaut, and Toumaunaut, that the twelve Ouyemauk who had obtained the Tumghau, ‡ should be divided into forty squadrons; and that the Ameers of the twenty eight Ouyemauk who had not obtained the Tumghau, should form their line in the rear of the Koul; and that my sons and my grandsons should draw up their forces before the right of the Koul; and that my relations and my kindred, with the troops under their command, should take their station

† i. e. That he would lead them in person.

‡ Those who received military pay.

before

وچنین تزوک بر بستم که اگر غنیم از چهل هزار سوار زیاده باشد بیکلر بیکان وامرا ومینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان وبهادران وسایر سپاه نظر بر رایات ظفر ایات من داشته باشند

وامر نمودم که به امیر هر فوج که یرلیغ فرستم مطابق حکم یرلیغ عمل نمایند واز آن تخلف نورزند وهر کس از بیکلر بیکان وامرا از حکم تخلف وتجاوز نماید ویرا بشمشیر بگذرانند وکوتل ویرا که منتظر الامارت باشد بجاي وي نصب کنند

وامر نمودم که از جمله چهل اویماق الوسات وقشونات وتومانات دوازده اویماق که بتمغا رسیده اند بچهل فوج قسمت نمایند وامراي بیست وهشت اویماق را که به تمغا نرسیده اند در عقب فوج قول صف بر بندند وفرزندان ونبیرگان پیش دست راست قول افواج خودرا آراسته گردانند وخیشاوندان وقرابتان پیش دست چپ قول افواج خودرا

the day ſhould ſtill remain in ſuſpence, let the general himſelf advance into action and depend on the appearance of my victorious ſtandards. † Book II.

† This paſſage is unintelligible.

فتح نشود سردار خود بجنگ قدم پیش گذارد ومنظر
رایات من باشد        ترتیب آراستن چهار ده فوج

هـراول

هراول چپاول        هراول شغاول

فوج اول چپاول* فوج دویم چپاول ]        فوج اول شغاول* فوج دویم شغاول ]

هراول برانغار        هراول جرانغار

فوج اول برانغار* فوج دویم برانغار]        فوج اول جرانغار* فوج دویم جرانغار]

قــول

See PLATE II; pag. 383.

وچنین

the rear of them, let him order into action the firſt ſquadron of the Chuppauwul and the ſecond ſquadron of the Shuckauwul, and after them the ſecond ſquadron of the Chuppauwul and the firſt of the Shuckauwul.

If from theſe ſeven ſhocks which the enemy ſhall have received, the victory be not obtained, let him at this period ſend forth the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur and the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur, until nine charges be made on the enemy's line.

And if victory followeth not from theſe nine ſhocks, let him ſend into battle the firſt ſquadron of the Burraunghaur and the ſecond ſquadron of the Jurraunghaur.

If by theſe eleven efforts alſo the victory be not decided, let him order to the charge the ſecond ſquadron of the Burraunghaur and the firſt of the Jurraunghaur. Thus it may be expected that by theſe thirteen ſucceſſive charges the lines of the enemy may be broken, and the glory of the day be acquired.

But if it ſhould come to paſs that the victory ſhould not be won by theſe thirteen attacks, it is at this criſis the duty of the general to form his Koul in exact order, and put them in motion. Let him ſhew himſelf as a lofty mountain to the eyes of the enemy, and move forward with ſlowneſs and regularity.

And let him direct his veteran bands to ruſh on the foe ſword in hand, and command his archers to gall the enemy with their arrows. And if the fate of

ایشان فوج اول چپاول وفوج دوم شغاول را بجنگ
اندازد واز عقب ایشان فوج دوم چپاول وفوج اول
شغاول را براند

اکر باین هفت ضرب که بر غنیم آید
فتح نشود درین وقت هراول برانغار وهراول جرانغار را
بدواند تا آنکه نه ضرب بر غنیم وارد شود

واکر ازین نه ضرب فتح میسر نشود فوج
اول برانغار وفوج دوم جرانغار را بدواند

اکر باین یازده ضرب هم فتح روي
ننماید فوج دوم برانغار وفوج اول جرانغار را بجنگ
بفرستد امید چنانست که باین سیزده ضرب افواج
غنیم شکسته شود وفتح میسر کردد

واکر احیانا باین سیزده ضرب فتح
حاصل نشود در این وقت سردار را است که افواج قول را
تزوک کرده روان شود وخودرا بمثال کوهي در نظر
غنیم نمودار کرداند وباهستکي وپیوستي روان
کردد

وبهادران جنکي را بفرماید که بشمشیر
در آمده هجوم آورند واوچیان شبه تیر نمایند واکر
فتح

AND it is the duty of the general to keep his eye on the motions of the foe, and to chaſtize thoſe officers under his command, who, without orders, preſume to advance upon the enemy.

AND it is the duty of the general to attend to the onſet of the enemy, and not to venture to attack them, until they advance to the charge. And when they advance, it is the duty of the general to examine their order of battle, in what manner they come into action, and in what manner they retire therefrom, and after what manner he ſhall engage them; whether they charge and retire, and, ſeeking advantage therein, put on the ſemblance of flight; and then, ſeizing a favourable criſis, rally and charge again.

AND it is the duty of a commander not to purſue the enemy who without cauſe flieth from the field: for ſuch an enemy may be well prepared for his defence.

AND it is the duty of the general to obſerve whether the enemy advance into the field of battle, and charge in an united body; or whether they commence the attack with the ſquadrons of their right and their left wings. Let the commander firſt oppoſe his Hurrauwul unto them, and puſh them on to the charge.

AND after them let him ſend forward the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul and the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul to ſupport the grand Hurrauwul. And in the

وسردارراست که نظر بر رفتار غنیم داشته باشد وهر امیر که بي حکم حرکت وتیز جلوي کند اورا تنبه نماید

وسردارراست که نظر بر در آمد وبر آمد غنیم داشته باشد ودر جنگ انداختن اضطراب نکند تا آنکه غنیم بجنگ مبادرت نماید وچون غنیم بجنگ در آید سردارراست که روش جنگ ایشانرا به بیند که بر چه کیفیت بمیدان جنگ مي در آیند ومي بر آیند وچگونه بر ایشان حمله آرد اگر حمله آورده باز میگردند وتابو دیده رو بگریز میآورند وتابو دیده بر میگردند

وسردارراست که بدنبال غنیمي که خود بخود شکست خورده نرود که این چنین غنیم پشت گرم کومک خود باشد

وسردارراست که به بیند که اگر غنیم بمیدان مبادرت غنچه شده ترکتاز مي آرد ویا افواج چپ وراست خودرا کشاده است سردارراباید که اول هراول را بایشان رو برو گرداند وبجنگ اندازد

ومتعاقب آن هراول چپاول وهراول شغاول را بمدد هراول کلان بفرستد واز عقب ایشان

FIRST, let him arrange his own line, and call it the Koul.[1] Let him afterwards form the Burraunghaur[2] with three ſquadrons; and let one of thoſe three ſquadrons be called the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur.[3] And with three other ſquadrons let him form the Jurraunghaur;[4] and let him name one of thoſe ſquadrons the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.[5] Book II.

AND thus alſo let him form, and ſtation, three other ſquadrons in the front of the Burraunghaur, and call them the Chuppauwul.[6] And let him appoint one of thoſe ſquadrons the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul.[7]

AND in the ſame manner let him arrange three other ſquadrons, and form them in the front of the Jurraunghaur, and call them the Shuckauwul;[8] and let him nominate one of thoſe ſquadrons the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.[9]

AND let him afterwards form in perfect order the grand Hurrauwul,[10] which ſhall be poſted in the front of the Koul, from the bow-men, and the ſword-men, and the ſpear-men, and the warriors of proof: that theſe troops charging with loud ſhouts, may diſperſe and defeat the advanced guards of the enemy.

6 *Chuppauwul*; the front line of the right wing.

7 *Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the right wing.

8 *Shuckauwul*; the front line of the left wing.

9 *Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the left wing.

10 *Grand Hurrauwul*; grand vanguard.

AND

اول صف خودرا آراسته ساخته قول نام
نهد آنگاه سه فوج برانغار مرتب سازد ویکي از آن
سه فوج را هراول برانغار نام کند وسه فوج دیگر
جرنغار آراسته ساخته یک فوج را هراول جرانغار نام
گذارد

وهمچنین سه فوج دیگر در پیش افواج
برانغار مرتب ساخته چپاول نام نهد ویکي از آن سه
فوج را هراول چپاول گرداند

وهمین قسم سه فوج دیگر آراسته در پیش
افواج جرانغار مقرر داشته شغاول نام کند ویکي از
آن سه فوج را به هراولي شغاول تعیین نماید

بعد از آن هراول بزرگ را که در
مقابل قول مي باشد از اوقچیان وشمشیر داران
ونیزه داران وبهادران ازموده کار کرده را بوجه
پسندیده استحکام دهد که الغ* سورن انداخته همین
افواج هراول لشکر غنیم را شکست دهد

1 *Koul*; the main body.

2 *Burraunghaur*; the rear line of the right wing.

3 *Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing.

4 *Jurraunghaur*; the rear line of the left wing.

5 *Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the left wing.

وسردار

He is a commander, who, numbering the chiefs of the forces of the enemy, appointeth proper chiefs in oppoſition unto them; and who conſidereth with the eye of attention the veteran ſoldiers of the foe, the bow-men, and the ſword-men, and the ſpear-men; and who obſerveth the motions of the enemy, whether they advance into the field of battle ſlowly and in juſt order, ſquadron by ſquadron, or whether they ruſh forward in confuſion; who pre-examineth the approach to the field, and alſo the avenue of retreat; and who penetrateth the order of the enemy's battle.

For it ſhall ſometimes come to paſs, that they will cauſe their numbers to appear ſmall, and put on the ſemblance of flight and diſmay. A general therefore muſt not permit himſelf to be deceived, and drawn into danger, by their pretended flight.

He is an able and experienced commander, who underſtandeth the diſcipline and the ſcience of war, and who knoweth what diviſion to ſend forward to the charge, and what evil to remedy by his ſkill, and what meaſures to follow in attacking the enemy. He is a general who comprehendeth the intentions of the foe, and who obſerveth their mode of attack, and counteracteth their motions and deſigns.

The general who commands forty thouſand horſe, muſt form them into fourteen ſquadrons after this manner.

 First,

وسردار آن است که سرداران سپاه
غنیم را بشمار در آورده در مقابل ایشان سرداران
تعین نماید وسپاه جنکي غنیم را از اوقچي* وشمشیري
ونیزه دار بنظر اعتبار در آورد ورفتار سپاه غنیم را
ببیند که پیوسته وآهسته فوج فوج بمیدان جنک
مي در آیند یا مغلوبه مي تازند وراه در آمدن وبر
آمدن خودرا بمیدان جنک ملاحظه نماید وشیوه
وروش جنک غنیم را در یابند

که کاه باشد که خودرا کم نمودار کنند
وخودرا کریزان وا نمایند پس بمکر وکریز پاي ایشان
فریفته نباید شد

وسردار جنک دیده وکار کرده آنست
که بند وبست جنک را بفهمد که کدام فوج را کشاد
باید داد وکدام رخنه را بتدبیر باید بر بست وچکونه
باید جنک انداخت سردار آنست که اراده غنیم را
بفهمد که بکدام روش بجنک مي در آید وراه
همان شیوه ویرا بروي مسدود کرداند

سردار را است که بدین ترتیب چهل
هزار سوار را چهار ده فوج مرتب نماید

اول

THUS I FORMED REGULATIONS FOR THE ARRANGEMENT OF MY SUPERIOR ARMIES. Book II.

IF the forces of the enemy exceeded in number twelve thouſand horſemen, and were inferior in number to forty thouſand, I ordained that one of my fortunate ſons ſhould command againſt them; and that two Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, with the Toumaunaut, and the Kuſhoonaut, and the Auloofaut, in number not inferior to forty thouſand men, ſhould attend his command:

AND that the troops and the officers, who compoſed this victorious army, ſhould conſider me as preſent in the field, and give not forth from their hands their diſcipline, and their courage and their conduct.

AND I commanded, when my Paiſhkhauneh † was brought forth, that twelve bodies of troops ſhould be ordered out; and that an Ameer of the Ameers of the Auloofaut ſhould be appointed to each, and that they ſhould cauſe them to perform their exerciſes and evolutions; that they might keep before their eyes the TWELVE MILITARY REGULATIONS, ‡ which I had eſtabliſhed for forming, and for breaking the line of battle, and for advancing, and for retreating.

and are there pitched. And thus the tents at the ſecond ſtage are, when the prince departs, ſent on to the fourth ſtage, ſo that the two ſets are inhabited alternately.

‡ Theſe regulations are not in the MS, and therefore are ſuppoſed to have been omitted by the tranſcribers through ignorance or inattention.

تزوک صف اراي‌ء افواج قاهره را چنين بر بستم

امر نمودم که اگر لشکر غنيم از دوازده هزار سوار زياده باشد ليکن بچهل هزار نرسد يکي از فرزندان کامکار سردار باشد ودو بيکلر بيکي در رکاب وي با امراي وقشونات وتومانات والوسات که از چهل هزار سوار کمتر نباشند حاضر باشند

وافواج قاهره بايد که مرا حاضر دانسته سر رشته تدبير ومردي ومردانکي از دست ندهند

وامر نمودم که چون پيشخانه اقبال مرا بر آورند دوازده فوج معين نمايند وبر هر يک †اميري از امراي الوسات مقرر باشد وتزک نمايند تا دوازده تزکي که در روش صف اراي‌ء وافواج شکني ودر آمد وبر آمد که بر بسته ام در نظر داشته باشد

† *Paiſhkhauneh* is the tent, or ſet of tents, of the prince; which on a march are ſent forward and erected againſt his arrival at every ſtage: i. e. there are two ſets of tents, and thoſe at the firſt ſtage, when ſtruck and ſent forward, are not unloaded at the ſecond, but proceed on to the third ſtage, and

وسردار

فوج قراول

فوج هراول

فوج هراول برانغار

فوج هراول جرانغار

اول فوج برانغار* دويم فوج برانغار

اول فوج جرانغار* دويم فوج جرانغار

قول

See PLATE I.

charge, and after them the ſecond diviſion of the left wing: and if victory proceedeth not from them, let him order the ſecond diviſion of the right wing into action, and let them be followed by the firſt diviſion of the left wing. And in this ſtate of the conflict let the commander diſpatch information unto me. Book II.

AND let him depend upon the arrival of my ſtandard, and reſting on the favour of Almighty God, advance himſelf upon the foe, and conſider me as preſent in the action. For when (by the favour of God) eight ſucceſſive ſhocks have been given to the ſtrength of the enemy, they muſt ſink under the ninth, and the victory be obtained.

AND it is the buſineſs of a general neither to be raſh nor precipitate; but to direct the operations of his troops *with firmneſs and preſence of mind.* And when he himſelf ſhall be obliged to enter into action, he muſt not, whilſt he can avoid it, give himſelf up to death: for the death of the general bringeth diſgrace upon the army, and encreaſeth the obſtinacy of the enemy.

THEREFORE it is the duty of a commander to ſhun temerity, and to act with deliberation and prudence: for temerity is the offspring of the devil. And let him alſo be careful that he venture not into a ſituation, out of which he cannot extricate himſelf and his army.

عقب وي فوج دوم جرانغار را براند اگر فتح نشود فوج دوم برانغار براند ومتعاقب وي فوج اول جرانغار را براند وخبر بمن فرستند

ومنتظر رايات من باشد وتكيه بر عنايات آلهي كرده سردار خود بجنگ در آيد ومرا در معرك حاضر داند كه بتوفيق الله چون هشت ضرب بر غنيم واقع آيد در ضرب نهم غنيم شكست خورد وفتح روزي شود

وسردار را است كه تيز جلوي نكند ولشكر را كار فرمايد وبعد از آنكه كار بوي رسد تا تواند خودرا بكشتن ندهد كه كشته شدن سردار بد نامي آرد وموجب خيركي غنيم مي گردد

پس سردار را است كه براي وتدبير كار كند وتعجيل نكند كه تعجيل از شيطان است وبجاي در نيايد كه از آن نتواند بر آمد

ترتيب صف آراي،

tention of the general ſhould be turned to the conducting and the directing of the efforts of his troops. 

For the duty of the commander is to govern and to guide the movements of his forces; and to be cool, and firm, and collected within himſelf in the hour of trial; and to conſider each diviſion of his army as a particular inſtrument of the inſtruments of war; as the arrow, and the battle-axe, and the ſword, and the mace, and the poniard, and the dagger; and to direct the edge or the point of each in the moment of neceſſity.

And it is the duty of a general to conſider himſelf and the nine diviſions of his army as a wreſtler who entereth into action, and fighteth with every part of his body — with his arms and with his feet, and with his breaſt, and with his head. And there is ground for expectation, when eight aſſaults ſhall have been ſucceſſively made on the line of the enemy, that in the ninth ſhock they will certainly be defeated.

And it is the buſineſs of a ſkilful general firſt to charge the foe with his advanced guard. And let him then ſend forward the advanced guard of his right wing to ſupport them; and after them the advanced guard of the left wing: that three ſucceſſive ſhocks may be given to the force of the enemy. And if at this juncture the advanced guards ſhould ſhrink back from before the foe, let him direct the firſt diviſion of the right wing to

غنيم بميدان در آيد سردار را نظر بر فرمايش وكار فرمودن افواج نهكانه باشد

چه كار سردار همين است كه افواج را كار فرمايد وسردار را است كه در وقت كار دل خودرا پاي ندهد ودست وپا كم نكند وهر فوجي را بمنزله سلاحي از اسلحه فرا كيرد از تير وتبر وشمشير وكرز وكارد وخنجر وهر فوج را بوقت كار فرمايد

وسردار را است كه نه فوج را وخودرا بمنزله شخص كشتي كير فرا كيرد كه به هر عضو خود از دست وپا وسر وسينه وغيره بجنك در آمده واميد است كه چون نه ضرب شمشير دفعه دفعه بر فوج غنيم برسد البته در ضرب نهم شكست يابد

وسردار را است كه اول فوج هراول را بر غنيم بدواند وهراول برانغار متعاقب آن بمدد بفرستند واز عقب هراول برانغار هراول جرانغار را براند تا آنكه سه ضرب بر افواج غنيم آيد اكر درين وقت هراولان زبوني نمايند فوج اول برانغار را براند واز عقب

AND I ordained that the general of the army ſhould, in conjunction with the Auriz, reconnoitre the numbers of the foe; and that he ſhould compare his chiefs with thoſe of the enemy, and confront them to each other accordingly; and that he ſhould take the neceſſary precautions to ſupply all deficiencies; and that he ſhould conſider well the different kinds of arms uſed by the ſoldiers of the enemy and by his own; and that he ſhould obſerve the motions of his foes, whether they advanced into the field ſlowly and in good order, or whether they ruſhed forward in confuſion; Book II.

AND that he ſhould conſider and comprehend the movements and the order of the enemy's battle, whether they charged at once and in an united body, or by detachments, the one ſucceeding the other; and that he ſhould obſerve, in the moment of aſſault, whether the enemy advanced and retired, and prepared to charge again, or whether they appeared ſatisfied with their firſt attempt. When the latter is the caſe, it is the duty of the ſoldier to bear lightly the ſhock of the enemy's attack, and to ſtand firm and patient. For bravery is but patience and firmneſs for an hour.

AND I ordained that until the foe advanced to the attack, he ſhould not be attacked. And I ordered, when the enemy entered the field of battle, that the at-

وامر نمودم که سردار لشکر باتفاق عارض

کمي وبسياري لشکر غنيم را ملاحظه نمايند وسرداران

طرف خود وطرف غنيم را مقابله نمايند ودر کمي

وبسياري تلافي وتدارک کنند واسلحه سپاه خود وسپاه

دشمن بخاطر آورند ورفتار غنيم را به بينند که

باهستکي وبيبوستکي بجنک مي در آيند يا باضطراب

وروش جنک غنيم را بخاطر آورند که

بيک مرتبه ترکتاز مي آورند يا فوج فوج متعاقب

يکديکر حمله مي آورند وبه بينند که در هنکام

تاختن خودرا غنيم ميرساند وبر مي کردد وباز حمله

آورد يا بهمان حمله اول اکتفاي نمايند اکر چنين

باشد سپاه را است که صدمه تاخت ايشانرا بردارد

وصبر نمايد که شجاعت صبر يک ساعت است

وامر نمودم که تا غنيم بجنک مبادرت

ننمايد بر وي سبقت نکيرند وامر نمودم که چون

غنيم

AND I ordered that the general ſhould attend to four particulars in his choice of the field of battle.—FIRST, the water thereof.—And SECONDLY, the ſtrength of the ground, that his flanks and his rear might be covered.—And THIRDLY, that his ſituation be more elevated than the ſituation of the enemy; and that the ſun be not in his front, that the glare thereof dazzle not the eyes of his troops.—FOURTHLY, that the ground before his lines be extenſive and open.

AND I commanded that the army ſhould be marſhalled, and the line be formed on the day preceding the action; and that (the forces being ranged in order of battle) they ſhould march towards the enemy; and that they ſhould not turn the heads of their horſes from the direction in which they were advancing; that they ſhould neither incline to the left nor to the right. And when the eyes of the army fell upon the forces of the enemy, I ordered that they ſhould utter a great ſhout, and repeat the Tuckbeer † with a loud voice.

AND I commanded, if the Auriz ‡ of the army ſaw that the leader thereof was deficient in his duty, that he ſhould deprive him of his command, and appoint another in his place; and that he ſhould open and communicate to the Ameers and to the ſoldiers the order which I had delivered unto him for that purpoſe.

‡ A ſort of field-deputy, appointed to obſerve the conduct of the commander in chief.

وامر نمودم که امیر الامرا در زمین
جنگ گاه چهار چیز ملاحظه نماید اول آب آن
سر زمین دوم زمینی که سپاه را نگاهدارد سیوم
که بر غنیم مشرف باشد وآفتاب رو برو نباشد تا
شعاع آفتاب چشم سپاه را خیره نگرداند چهارم پیش
روی جنگ گاه کشاده ووا باشد

وامر نمودم که پیش از جنگ یک روز
صف آرایء نمایند وترک افواج نموده قدم پیش
گذارند وسمتی که میرفته باشند سر اسپان خود
از آن سمت بر نگردانند وبچپ وراست میل نکنند
وامر نمودم که چون نظر سپاه بر افواج غنیم افتد
باوازه بلند تکبیر گفته شورن اندازند

واگر عارض لشکر ببیند که
سردار خطا کند آن عارض دیگری را بجا وی
بنشاند ویرلیغ فتح که من بوی سپرده ام بامرا
وسپاه نمودار گرداند

† *Ullah ackbur*, God is great.

وامر

AND I commanded that the property of the deceaſed ſhould be reſtored to the lawful heir; and if there ſhould be no heir, that it ſhould be expended in pious uſes, or be ſent to the holy city of Mecca.

REGULATIONS OF WAR: FOR ENTERING INTO AND RETIRING FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE; AND FOR FORMING THE LINE; AND FOR DEFEATING ARMIES.

I ordained, if the enemy exceeded not twelve thouſand cavalry, that an Ameer ul Omrau ſhould command the oppoſing army: and that twelve thouſand horſemen of the Ouyemauk, and the Toumaun; alſo Mingbauſhee, and Euzbauſhee, and Ounbauſhee Ameers ſhould be placed under his command:

AND that he ſhould advance to within the diſtance of one day's march from the enemy, and that he ſhould halt oppoſite unto them, and ſend me information thereof.

AND I commanded that thoſe twelve thouſand horſe ſhould be formed in nine diviſions after this manner: The main body one diviſion, and the right wing three diviſions, and the left wing three diviſions, and the advanced guard one diviſion, and the advanced guard of the advanced guard one diviſion:

AND that the right wing ſhould conſiſt of its own advanced guard, and its right and its left diviſions; and that the left wing ſhould alſo conſiſt of its own advanced guard, and of its right and its left diviſions.

AND

وامر نمودم که اموال اموات را بوارث رسانند واگر وارث نباشد در ابواب الخیر صرف نمایند یا بمکه معظمه بفرستند

تزوک جنک وجدل ودر آمد وبر آمد معرکه وصف آرايء وفوج شکني

امر نمودم که اگر غنیم از دوازده هزار سوار کم باشد دربن جنک امیر الامرا سردار باشد ودوازده هزار سوار از اویماق وتومانات بوي همراه نمایند واز مینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان نیز همراه گردانند

وبمسافت یک منزل بجانب غنیم پیش رفته به غنیم رو برو شود وخبر بمن بفرستند

وامر نمودم که این دوازده هزار سوار نه فوج مرتب سازند برین ترتیب قول یک فوج وبرانغار سه فوج وجرانغار سه فوج وهراول یک فوج وقراول یک فوج

وفوج برانغار مشتمل باشد بر هراولي وچپاولي وشغاولي وهمچنین فوج جرانغار متضمن سه فوج هراول وچپاول وشغاول باشد

وامر

and an alms houſe for the poor and the indigent, and an hoſpital for the ſick and infirm ſhould be founded; and that a phyſician ſhould receive a ſalary, and ſhould be appointed to attend the hoſpital: and that in every city a government-houſe, and a court for the adminiſtration of juſtice ſhould be built: and that ſuperintendants ſhould be appointed to watch over the cultivated lands, and over the huſbandmen.

AND I ordained that in every country three Vizzeers ſhould be ſtationed. The FIRST for the ſubject, To keep a regular account of the taxes and the duties received, and what ſums, and to what amount, were paid in by the ſubject, and under what denomination, and on what account; and to preſerve an exact ſtatement of the whole.

THE SECOND for the ſoldier, To take account of the ſums paid to the troops, and of the ſums remaining due unto them.

THE THIRD, To take poſſeſſion of the Amwaul a Ghauibi,† and of the cuſtoms on the comers and on the goers; and of the revenues of the Baudi and the Huvvaui; and to take poſſeſſion of the effects of thoſe who ſhould become inſane, and of thoſe who died inteſtate, and of thoſe who ſuffered by the laws. And he was to take poſſeſſion of thoſe effects with the approbation of the magiſtrate and of the eccleſiaſtical judge.

† The effects of people loſt, or abſconded.

مسجدي ومدرسه وخانقاهي بنا كنند ولنكر خانه
بجهت فقرا ومساكين ودار الشفاي بجهت مرضان
مقرر دارند وطبيبي را موظف ساخته بر دار الشفا
موكل دارند ودر هر شهري دار الاماره ودار العداله
تعمير كنند وقورچيان* بجهت نكاهباني زراعت ورعيت
مقرر نمايند

وامر نمودم كه در هر ملكي سه وزير
تعين نمايند يكي براي رعيت كه انچه از رعيت
تحصيل شود واصلات آنرا سر رشته نكاهدارد كه چه
مبلغ وچه مقدار از رعيت بهر اسم ورسم بر آمده جمع
آنرا نكاهدارد

ووزير دوم از براي سپاه كه بسپاهيان
چه مبلغ رسيده وچه مبلغ طلب دارند

ووزير سيوم از براي ضبط اموال غايب
وآينده ورونده وحاصل بادي وهواي وضبط اموال
مجانين ومواريث واثام كه باستصواب قاضي وشيخ
الاسلام جمع سازد

وامر

AND I ordained, that if the rich and the powerful ſhould oppreſs the poorer ſubject, and injure or deſtroy his property, an equivalent for the damage ſuſtained ſhould be levied on the rich oppreſſor, and be delivered to the injured perſon; that he might be reſtored to his former eſtate:

AND that all ruined lands which lay uncultivated (if there were no owners to thoſe lands) ſhould be annexed to the crown. And if there were owners, and thoſe owners were reduced to diſtreſs, I ordained that the neceſſary ſupplies ſhould be granted unto them, that they might cultivate their lands anew.

AND I commanded that the ruined bridges ſhould be repaired; and that bridges ſhould be conſtructed over the rivulets and over the rivers; and that on the roads, at the diſtance of one ſtage from each other, Kauruvvaunſurai † ſhould be erected; and that guards and watchmen ſhould be ſtationed on the road, and that in every Kauruvvaunſurai people ſhould be appointed to reſide; and that the watching and the guarding of the roads ſhould appertain unto them: and that thoſe guards ſhould be anſwerable for whatever ſhould be ſtolen on the roads from the unwary traveller.

AND I ordained that in every town and in every city a moſque, and a ſchool, and a monaſtery,

† Buildings for the reception of travellers.

وامر نمودم که اکر ارباب وکلانتر
بر ریزه رعیت تعدي نماید وموجب خرابي ریزه رعیت
باشد مقدار خرابي که بر ریزه رعیت رسیده باشد
از ارباب وکلانتر کرفته بایشان برساند که بحال
خود باز آیند

ومواضع خراب اکر صاحب نداشته
باشند در خالصه معمور نمایند واکر صاحب داشته
باشند واکر پریشان باشد مصالح الاملاک بوي دهند
که موضع خودرا اباد سازد

وامر نمودم که در زمین خراب کاریزها
جاري سازند وپلهاي خراب را عمارت نمایند وبر نهرآبها
ورود خانها پلها بنا کنند ودر راهها بمقدار یک منزل
رباطي تعمیر نمایند وراهداران ومستحفظان در راهها
مقرر دارند ودر هر رباطي جمعي را متوطن سازند
که راهداري ونکاهباني بدیشان متعلق باشد ومال
که از اهل غفلت در راهها بدزدي برود راهداران
از عهده بر آیند

وامر نمودم که در هر شهري وبلدي
مسجدي

AND that the duties on the herbs, and on the fruits, and on all the other productions of the country, and on the reſervoirs of water, and on the commons, and on the paſture lands ſhould be fixed and determined according to the ancient and eſtabliſhed practices: and if the ſubject ſhould not be content therewith, that the collections ſhould be ſettled according to the Huſt and Bood. †

AND I ordained that, before the time of the gathering in the grain, the taxes ſhould not be demanded; and, when the period of the harveſt arrived, that they ſhould be collected at three different times;

AND if the ſubject paid the royal dues ſpontaneouſly, that a tax-gatherer ſhould not be appointed over him; and if there ſhould be occaſion for a tax-gatherer, that he ſhould levy the duties by threats and by authority; but that he ſhould not make uſe of the cudgel, and the cord, and the ſcourge; nor preſume to confine the ſubject in fetters and in chains.

AND I ordained, whoever undertook the cultivation of waſte lands, or built an aqueduct, or made a canal, or planted a grove, or reſtored to culture a deſerted diſtrict, that in the firſt year nothing ſhould be taken from him, and that in the ſecond year whatever the ſubject voluntarily offered ſhould be received, and that in the third year the duties ſhould be collected according to the REGULATION.

† This regulation is not underſtood by the tranſlator.

وسر سهار ومخترفه وساير جهات بلدان
ومواضع وآبخور وعلف چرا ومراعي موافق دستور
العمل قديم بعمل آوردند واكر رعيت راضي نشود
به هست وبود عمل نمايند

وامر نمودم كه پيش از رسيدن محصول
بر رعيت مال وجهات اطلاق نمايند وچون محصول
برسد بسه دفعه مال تحصيل كنند
واكر رعيت بي تحصيلدار مال كذاري
نمايد تحصيلدار تعين ننمايند واكر بتحصيلدار
محتاج شوند بحكم وسخن مال بكيرند كار
بچوب وريسمان وشلاق نرسانند ورعيت را به بند
وزنجير مقيد نكردانند

وامر نمودم كه هركس صحراي اباد
كند ويا كاريزي احداث نمايد يا باغي سبز كند
يا موضع ويراني را نو اباد سازد در سال اول چيزي
نكيرند ودر دوم انچه رعيت برضاي خود بدهد
بكيرند ودر سال سيوم موافق تزك مال بكيرند

وامر

And if the ſubject ſhould not be ſatisfied with the mode of collection, and with the partition of the general produce into three parts, that the reſtricted lands ſhould be divided into firſt, and ſecond, and third Jurreeb; † that the produce of the firſt Jurreeb ſhould be eſtimated at three loads, and the produce of the ſecond Jurreeb at two loads, and the produce of the third Jurreeb at one load; and that half thereof ſhould be eſtimated as wheat, and half thereof as barley; and that of the total amount one half of the produce ſhould be collected;

And if the ſubject, notwithſtanding this, ſhould be unwilling to pay the tax in kind, that the value of a load of wheat ſhould be fixed at five Miſkauls of ſilver, and the value of a load of barley at two and a half Miſkauls of ſilver; and that the duty of the Kellaah ‡ ſhould be exacted over and above: but that nought elſe ſhould be demanded of the ſubject under any pretext or denomination whatever;

And that the reſt of the lands of the huſbandman, thoſe which produced in the autumn, and in the ſpring, and in the ſummer, and in the winter; and the lands which depended on the rain for fertility, ſhould be divided into Jurreebs; and that of the produce of thoſe which were numbered, a third or a fourth ſhould be collected;

‡ What this duty is, is unknown to the tranſlator.

And

واگر رعیت بحاصل وقسمت سه توده راضی نشوند اراضی مضبوطرا اول ودوم وسیوم جریب نهایند وجریب اول را سه خروار وجریب دوم را دو خروار وجریب سیوم را یک خروار جمع بربندند ونصف را گندم ونصفی را جو اعتبار کنند وانچه جمع شود دو یک مال بگیرند

واگر رعیت با وجود این هم بدادن مال راضی نشود خرواری گندم را پنج مثقال نقره وخرواری جورا دو نیم مثقال نقره نرخ نهایند وساوری قلعه بر آن اضافه کنند ودیگر بهیچ اسم ورسم چیزی از رعایا مطالبه ننهایند

وباقی زراعت خریف وربیع وزمستانی وتابستانی رعیت را وزراعتی که بآب باران مزروع شده باشد جریب نهایند وانچه بتحریر در آید به ثلث وربع عمل کنند

† A *Jurreeb* is a certain land-meaſure, as our acre.

وسر

AND I ordained that, in every country that ſhould be ſubdued (to the inhabitants of which charters of ſafety and ſecurity from dangers ſhould be granted) the produce and the revenue of that country ſhould be inſpected;

IF the ſubjects were ſatisfied with the old and eſtabliſhed taxes, that thoſe taxes ſhould be confirmed, agreeably to the wiſhes of the ſubjects; or if not, that they ſhould be determined according to the REGULATION.

AND I ordained that the duties ſhould be determined in proportion to the produce of the cultivated lands; and that the taxes on the produce of thoſe lands ſhould be affixed and aſcertained:

THUS firſt, that the cultivated grounds of the ſubject, which ſhould be made fertile by the water of canals, or by ſprings, or rivulets, or rivers (if thoſe waters flowed perpetually and continually) ſhould be ſuperintended by the officers of the crown; and that of the amount of the produce of thoſe grounds, two thirds ſhould be allowed to the poſſeſſor thereof, and one third be paid into the royal treaſury;

AND if the ſubject ſhould conſent to pay the tax for the reſtricted lands in ſpecie, that for the grain due to the treaſury the ſum ſhould be fixed on the ſubject according to the current price of the grain; and that correſponding to the current price of the grain, the money ſhould be paid to the ſoldiers; †

† If the price of grain was low the ſoldiers pay was leſs, if high, it was more: that is to ſay, it was always exactly proportioned to the value of the neceſſaries of life.



AND

وامر نمودم که هر مملکتي که مسخر
کردد واز حوادث در امن وامان در آيد حاصل
وواصل آن ملک را ملاحظه نمايند
اکر رعايا بجمع قديم راضي باشند
برضاي ايشان عمل نمايند والا موافق تزوک جمع
بربندند

وامر نمودم که خراج موافق حاصل
زراعت بکيرند وجمع بر حاصل زمين بر بندند
چنانچه اول اراضي مزروعه رعيت را که
بآب کاريز وچشمه ونهر ورود خانه زراعت کرده
باشند وآن آبها دوام واستمرار داشته باشد ضبط
نمايند وانچه حاصل آن آراضي باشد دو حصه برعيت
کذارند ويک حصه بسرکار اعلي تحصيل نمايند

واکر رعايا آداي اراضي مضبوطه بنقدي
راضي باشد انچه غله حصه سرکار را موافق نرخ وقت
نقدي بر رعيت قرار دهند وموافق نرخ نقد
بسپاهي برسانند

واکر

daily bread ſhould be allowed to the religious; and that benefactions and gifts ſhould be granted for the ſepulchres and the Mauſoleums of each of the ſaints of Eraun and of Tooraun. Book II.

And I ordained that, in every kingdom which ſhould be conquered, the mendicants of that country ſhould be gathered together; and that ſubſiſtence and daily bread ſhould be allowed unto them; and that they ſhould be made penſioners and beg no more. And if after they were made penſioners they continued the practice of aſking alms, I commanded that they ſhould be ſold into foreign countries, or expelled from the realm: that the race of beggars might become extinct in my dominions.

Regulations concerning the collection of the revenues and the taxes from the subjects; and the order and the arrangement of the provinces; and the cultivation, and the population, and the government, and the police of the empire.

I ordained that the revenues and the taxes ſhould be collected in ſuch a manner, as might not be productive of ruin to the ſubject, or of depopulation to the country. For the ruin of the ſubject cauſeth a diminution of the imperial treaſures; and a diminution of the imperial treaſures effecteth the diſperſion of the troops; and the diſperſion of the troops produceth the extinction of the imperial power.

مـزارات ومقابر مشايخ ايران وتوران نام بنام نذورات
واوقـاف معين نمايند

وامر نمودم كه هر مملكتي كه مسخر
كردد كدايان آن ملك را جمع ساخته يوميه ووظيفه
مقرر نمايند وايشان را تمغا* كنند كه ديكر كداي را
بـر طرف سازند واكر بعد از تمغا كداي نمايند
ايشانرا به بلاد بعيده بفروشند يا سر دهند تا كدازان
از مملكت من كم شود

تـزوك تحصيل مال وخـراج از رعيت
ونـسـق ورونـق مـلـك ومعموري واباداني وضبط
وحـراسـت مملكت

امـر نمودم كه مال وخراج از رعيت
بنهجي بكيرند كه موجب خرابـي رعيت وويـراني
مملكت نشود كه خرابي رعيت موجب كمي خزانه
است وكمي خزانه باعث تـفرقه سپاه است وتـفرقه
سپاه موجب اختلال مرتبه سلطنت است

وامر

holy religion, lands ſhould be appointed; and that carpets, and food, and lamps ſhould be allowed to thoſe who reſided therein: Book II.

AND firſt, that for the holy ſhrine of the commander of the faithful, the king of men, Aali † the the ſon of Aboo Taulib (on whom be the favour of God) the diſtricts of Bukhf and Jilleh ſhould be aſſigned;

AND that for the pure ſhrine of the Imaum Hooſſein (whom the Almighty reward) and for the ſhrine of the mirror of the ſaints, Sheikh Abdulkaudir: and for the ſhrine of the great Imaum Aboo Khunneefeh (the mercy of God be upon him) and for the ſepulchres of the other ſaints, and fathers, and diſtinguiſhed men of the holy religion, who reſted from their labours in the city of Bughdaud; that for each of them, according to their dignities, the lands and the villages of Kurbullau and of Bughdaud, and other diſtricts ſhould be aſſigned;

AND that for the ſupport of the holy ſhrines of Imaum Mooſi Kauzim, and Imaum Mahummud Nukki, and Soolamaun Faurſi, the fertile lands of Juzzauir and other cities ſhould be granted;

AND that for the ſupport of the ſacred ſepulchres of Imaum Aali, the ſon of Mooſi, the lands of Kutteh Buſt, and the environs of the city of Toos ſhould be aſſigned; and that carpets, and lamps, and

† The fourth Khalif, and ſon-in-law to the Mahummudan lawgiver.

daily

مواضع وقف كنند وفرش وآش وروشناي مقرر نمايند

واول بروضه مقدسه امير المومنين شاه مردان علي ابن ابي طالب كرم الله وجه محال بخف وجله را وقف نمايند

وبروضه منوره امام حسين رضي الله عنه وبروضه قدوة الاوليا شيخ عبد القادر ومقبره امام اعظم ابو حنيفه رحمت الله عليه ومزارات ديگر مشايخ واكابر وبزرگان دين كه در بغداد آسوده اند از براي هريك علي قدرهم مواضع ودهات كربلا وبغداد وغيره وقف نمايند

وبراي روضه منوره امام موسي كاظم وامام محمد نقي وسليمان فارسي محال مزروعه از جزاير وغيره حاصلات مداين وقف كنند

وبجهت روضه متبركه امام علي ابن موسي ناحيه كنه بست ومحال شهر طوس را وقف نمايند وفرش وروشناي وآش يوميه مقرر سازند وبجهت مزارات

AND that their effects and their property ſhould be protected from ravage and from plunder; and that the ſpoils which had been gathered from that country ſhould be taken from the ſpoilers;

AND that the poſterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the holy and the learned men, and the nobles and the grandees ſhould be treated with honour and reſpect; and that the chiefs, and the leading men, and the principal men of the towns and the villages, and thoſe who followed agriculture, ſhould be protected and encouraged;

AND that the ſubjects in general ſhould be kept ſuſpended between hope and fear; and that when guilty of a crime, they ſhould be fined in proportion to the offence, and to their ability.

AND I ordained that to the poſterity of the prophet, and to the theologians, and to the learned, and to the holy men, and to the religious, and to the recluſe in every country which ſhould come under my dominion, lands, and penſions, and appointments ſhould be granted; and that ſubſiſtence and ſupport ſhould be allowed to the poor, and to the helpleſs, and to the indigent; and that to the teachers, and to the learned in religion ſalaries ſhould be granted;

AND that for the ſupport of the ſhrines and the ſepulchres of the ſaints, and the fathers of the holy

واموال واسباب ایشان را از تاراج وبغما
نکاهدارند وغنایمی را که از آن ملک بدست آید
بقید ضبط در آورند

وسادات وعلما ومشایخ وفضلا واکابر
واشراف را اعزاز نمایند وکدخدیان وکلانتران
ودهقانان ومزارعان را استمالت دهند

ورعایا را در میانهء امید وبیم نکاهدارند
ومقدار کناه واستعداد او جریمت بکیرند

وامر نمودم که بسادات وعلما ومشایخ
وفضلا ودرویشان وکوشه نشینان هر مملکی که
بتسخیر در آید سیورغالات ووظیفه ومرسوم بدهند وبفقرا
وعجزه مساکین مدد ومعاش مقرر دارند وبمدرسین
ومشایخ وظیفه معین نمایند

وبروضات ومزارات اولیای واکابر دین
مواضع

THUS, when I had ſubdued the empire of Hind, I received intelligence that the Keeſur of Room had ravaged certain of my provinces; and that the natives of Goorjiſtaun, exceeding their proper limits, had advanced to certain caſtles which were beſieged by my forces; and that they had given ſuccour to the inhabitants of thoſe caſtles.

AND I reflected with myſelf, that if I tarried longer in the empire of Hindoſtaun, diſorders would ariſe in the kingdom of Eraun. Having ſettled the affairs of the empire of Hind, I returned from thence with ſpeed. And I halted for a few days in Mauwur u Nuhur; and from thence I proceeded towards Room and Goorjiſtaun; and I conquered the whole of that extenſive empire.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED TOWARDS THE NATIVES, AND THE INHABITANTS, OF EVERY COUNTRY. AND OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SHRINES OF THE SAINTS, AND OF THE FATHERS OF THE HOLY RELIGION. AND OF THE GIFTS AND PIOUS DONATIONS.

I ordained, in every kingdom which ſhould be ſubdued, that the warrior of that kingdom who ſubmitted unto me ſhould be received into my ſervice; and that the ſubjects and the inhabitants of that country ſhould be protected from injuries, and from ſlaughter, and from rapine, and from ſlavery;

چنانچه در وقت که مملکت هندرا
مسخر ساختم خبر بمن رسید که قیصر روم بر بعضي
مملکت من ترکتاز آورده وکرجیان از حد خود
تجاوز نموده به بعضي قلاع که لشکرهاي من آنرا
محاصره داشتند آمده مدد اهالی قلعه کرده اند
وخود بخود کنکاش کردم اکر در
هند توقف نمایم در مملکت ایران خللي روي
خواهد داد نسق دار الملک هند نموده ایلغار کردم
وروزي چند در ماورالنهر توقف نمودم واز آنجا متوجه
روم وکرجستان شدم وجمیع آن ممالک مسخر
ساختم

تزوک سلوک ومعاش بمتوطنان
وساکنان بلاد ونسق مزارات اولیا وبزرکان دین
واوقاف ونذارات

امر نمودم که هر مملکتي که مسخر
کردد سپاهي که در آن مملکت باشد وپناه آورد
نوکر سازند وجاي دهند ورعایا ومتوطنان آن دیاررا
از حوادث وقتل وغارت واسیري محافظت نمایند

واموال

the deſigns of the neighbouring princes; and that they ſhould return unto the preſence, and give me information thereof, that I might provide the remedy before the evil arrived. Book II.

Thus I received intelligence of the defeat of Touktummiſh Khaun by Auroos Khaun. I knew that Touktummiſh Khaun would fly for protection unto me; and I made the neceſſary preparations to ſupport Touktummiſh, and to wage war with Auroos.

Thus at the time that I was about to undertake the reduction of the empire of Hindoſtaun, information was brought unto me, that independent princes and chiefs were ſeated on the throne of government in every quarter of thoſe dominions;

Thus, that Saurung, the brother of Mulloo Khaun, had elevated the ſtandard of power in the land of Mooltaun; and that in Dehli Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun had erected the enſign of authority; and that in the territories of Lauhore Mulloo Khaun had drawn together a numerous army; and that Mubbauruk Khaun had aſpired to the regal title in the kingdom of Kunnouj; and that in every province of the provinces of Hindoſtaun ſome one had aſſumed the regal dignity.

When I received this information, the conqueſt of that empire appeared eaſy in my ſight; but in the eyes of my ſoldiers it was an undertaking of difficulty.

ومقاصد سلاطين جواررا تحقيق نموده وبحضور آمده خبر رسانند تا آنكه پيش از وقوع واقع اعلاج نمايم

چنانچه خبر شكست يافتن توقتمش خان از اروس خان بمن رسيد دانستم كه وي بمن پناه خواهد آورد واستعداد جنك اروس خان وامداد توقتمش خان نمودم

چنانچه در وقتي كه بر تسخير ممالك هندوستان عازم شدم بمن خبر رسانيدند كه در هر نواحي هندوستان حاكمي ووالي بر تخت سلطنت نشست

چنانچه سارنك برادر ملوخان در سر زمين ملتان علم حكومت بر افراخته ودر دهلي سلطان محمود خان علم سلطنت بر افراخته ودر ناحيه لاهور ملو خان لشكر جمع آورده ومبارك خان در نواحي قنوج بدعوي سلطنت بر خاسته ودر هر ولايتي از ولايت هندوستان شخصي كردن بدعوي سلطنه برافراخته

چون اين خبر بمسامع من رسيد تسخير آن ملك در نظر من آسان نمود ليكن در نظر سپاه مشكل بود

چنانچه

each ſhould write to the imperial preſence, with truth and perſpicuity, full accounts of the conduct and the behaviour of the governors, and of the officers; and of the ſoldiers, and of the ſubjects; and of the ſtate of my own armies, and of thoſe of foreign powers; and of the bringing in, and the carrying out of all merchandize and commodities; and of the entrance, and the departure of all ſtrangers, and of all Kauruvvauns of every country; and of the tranſactions of the neighbouring kingdoms and princes, and of their conduct and behaviour; and alſo of the learned and ſkilful men of diſtant countries, who might turn their faces towards my dominions:

And that if the writer of intelligence was guilty of falſehood, and wrote not the true ſtate of the facts, his fingers ſhould be cut off: and that if he ſuppreſſed the laudable actions of a ſoldier, or wrote an unjuſt account thereof he ſhould be deprived of his right hand: and that if he wrote a falſe account from enmity and from malice, he ſhould be put to death. And I commanded that theſe accounts ſhould be tranſmitted unto me day by day, and week by week, and month by month.

And I ordained, that a thouſand ſwift camel-men, and a thouſand ſwift horſe-men, and a thouſand expeditious foot-men ſhould be ſelected; and that they ſhould inform themſelves of the occurrences of the countries, and of the frontiers; and of the intentions and

اعمال وافعال حکام ورعیت وسپاه ولشکر خود ولشکر بیکانه ومداخل ومخارج مال ومنال ودر آمدن وبر آمدن مردم بیکانه وقوافل از اهل هر مملکت واخبار ممالک وسلاطین همسایه واعمال وافعال ایشان وجماعه علما وافاضل که از بلاد بعیده روي بدرکاه من آورده باشند بتفصیل از روي راستي ودرستي بدرکاه مینوشته باشند

واکر خلاف نمایند واز قرار واقع ننویسند انکشتان اخبار نویسان قطع نمایند واکر اخبار نویسي کار سپاهي را پوشیده دارد ودر لباس دیکر بنویسد دست ویرا قطع کنند واکر دروغي را بنابر تهمت وغرضي نوشته باشد اورا بقتل رسانند وامر نمودم که اخبار مذکور روز بروز وهفته بهفته وماه بماه بعرض برسد

وامر نمودم که یک هزار نفر جمازه سوار واسپ سوار چپقونچي* رونده دونده وهزار نفر پیاده جلد تعین نمایند که اخبار ممالک وسرحد واراده ومقاصد

And I commanded that the governors ſhould not preſume to puniſh or oppreſs any one of the inhabitants of the towns or the cities under their juriſdiction, on the accuſation (or information) of the malevolent, and the profligate and the ſelf-intereſted; but that after conviction, according to the FOUR INSTITUTIONS, a fine ſhould be levied on the guilty perſon in proportion to the miſdemeanour.

And I ordained that the poll-tax and the houſe-tax ſhould not be levied on any town, or on any city whatever; and that no one of the ſoldiers ſhould preſume to enter by force the dwelling of a civil inhabitant, or to ſeize on the cattle, or the property, of the ſubject;

And that in every concern of the inhabitants of every country, the governors thereof ſhould in their conduct keep within the limits of equity and juſtice. And I ordained that ſubſiſtence ſhould be allowed to the mendicants of every kingdom, that the practice of begging might be aboliſhed.

REGULATIONS FOR THE OBTAINING INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION OF THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE, AND OF THE PROVINCES, AND OF THE SOLDIERS, AND OF THE SUBJECTS.

I ordained that on every frontier, and in every country, and in every city, and in every camp a writer of intelligence ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and that each

وامر نمودم که حکام به تهمت وسخنان
ارباب غرض وبد کویان وبد نغسان بر هیچ فردي از
افراد متوطنان وساکنان بلاد وامصار جریمت نکنند
بعد از ثبوت کناه از احداث اربعه جریمت فراخور کناه
از مجرم بکیرند

وامر نمودم که سر شماري وخانه شماري
از هیچ شهري وقصبه نکیرند وهیچکس از سپاه در
خانه رعیت بزور نزول نکنند وچهارپایان واولاغ* رعایا
نکیرند
ودر جمع امور رعایاء هر مملکتي
در سلوک ومعاش حد اعتدال نکاهدارند وامر نمودم
که کدایان هر ملک را وظیفه مقرر کردانند تا رسم
کداي ء بر افتد

تزوک خبر داري وآکاهي از احوال
ملک ومملکت ورعیت وسپاه

امر نمودم که در هر سرحدي وولایتي
وشهري ولشکري خبر نویسي تعین نمایند که از
اعمال

AND every kingdom which I reduced, I gave back the government of that kingdom to the prince thereof; and I bound him in the chains of kindneſs and generoſity; and I drew unto me his obedience and ſubmiſſion. The refractory I overcame by their own devices; and I appointed over them a vigorous, and ſagacious, and upright governor. Book II.

AND I commanded that the thieves and the high-way robbers of every country ſhould be put to death; and that the ſeditious, and the vicious, and the profligate ſhould be baniſhed from the realm; and that vagrants and buffoons ſhould not be permitted to reſide in the cities or in the country;

AND that a magiſtrate ſhould be appointed in every city and in every town, who ſhould watch over the conduct of the ſoldier and the ſubject; and that he ſhould be accountable for every thing that was ſtolen.

AND I ordered that guards ſhould be ſtationed at the entrance of the roads; and that they ſhould watch and defend the roads and the ſtages; and conduct in ſafety from ſtage to ſtage the merchandize, and the effects, and the property of the merchant and the traveller; and that if any loſs or deficiency ſhould be found therein, that they ſhould be anſwerable for the value thereof.

وحاکم هر ملکي را که مسخر من شد
حکومت آن ولايت را باز بوي ارزاني داشتم ووبرا بتغيد
احسان در آورده مطيع ومنقاد خود ساختم وهر که
بمن در نيآمد ويرا بکردار وي کرفتار کردانيدم وحاکم
عادل وعاقل وعامل بر ايشان تعين نمودم

وامر کردم که دزدان وقطاع الطريق
هر ملک را بيباسا رسانند ومفسدان واشرار وبد نفسان را
از ملک اخراج نمايند وهرزه کاران را در شهر وملک
نکذارند
وکوتوالي بهر شهر وقصبه تعين کنند
که نکاهبان رعيت وسپاه باشد وانچه از هر کس
بدزدي رود در عهدهء کوتوال باشد

وامر نمودم که بر سر راهها ضابطان
تعين نمايند که حارث وپاسپان راهها بوده اموال
واسباب وامتعه متردين تجار ومسافران را منزل بمنزل
برسانند واکر فوتي وفرو کذاشتي در آن بشود از
عهدهء جواب آن بر آيند

وامر

preſſors and the infidels, and from the ſeditious, and the wicked, and the impious, the lands of the Lord: and I girded up my loins to extirpate and deſtroy them. Book II.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF CONQUERED KINGDOMS.

IN every kingdom which I conquered, I reſpected thoſe who were worthy of reſpect, and I venerated and honoured the poſterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the learned, and the holy men; and I conferred upon them eſtates, and penſions, and appointments. And I conſidered the powerful and the opulent of that country as my brethren; and as my children, the poor and the helpleſs infants thereof.

AND the ſoldiers of that kingdom I admitted to my preſence; and I ſoothed and encouraged the ſubjects; and I kept both the one and the other ſuſpended between hope and fear. And to the good of every country I did good; and I expelled from my kingdoms the vicious, and the wicked, and the ſeditious.

THE baſe and the abject I confined within their proper bounds; and I permitted them not to exceed the limits preſcribed them. And on the nobles and the grandees I conferred preeminence by exalted dignities; and I threw open the portals of equity and juſtice in every country; and I cloſed up the avenues to cruelty and oppreſſion.

وفاسقان وفاجران بر آوردم ودر دفع ورفع ایشان کمر
همت بر بستم

## تزوک ملک داري

هر ملک را که مسخر ساختم عزیزان آن
ملک را عزیز داشتم وسادات وعلما وفضلا ومشایخ را
تعظیم واحترام نمودم وسیورغال ووظیفه ومرسوم بایشان
مقرر ساختم وکلانتران آن ولایت را بمنزله برادر
وخوردان واطفال را بجاي فرزند دانستم
وسپاه آن ملک را بدرگاه خود راه
دادم ورعایا را مستمال گردانیدم وهمه را در میانه
امید وبیم نگاهداشتم وبه نیکان هر ملک نیکي
کردم وبدان واشرار وبد نفسان را از مملکت اخراج
نمودم
واداني واراذل را در مرتبه ایشان
نگاهداشتم ونگذاشتم که قدم از حد خود فراتر
گذارند واکابر واشراف را بمراتب عالیه امتیاز دادم
وابواب عدالت در هر ملک مفتوح داشتم وطریق ظلم
وستم را مسدود گردانیدم

وحاکم

“ And it ſhall ſometimes come to paſs, Book II.
“ that the juſt, and the religious, and the virtuous, and “ the innocent ſhall be overtaken and involved in the ca- “ lamities of the evil doers. For the fire, which falleth “ in the wilderneſs of reeds, conſumeth both the green “ and the dry.

“ And be not ſurprized at the proſperity “ and the ſucceſs of the impious, and the wicked, and “ the infidel, and the tyrant. And err not in thy conclu- “ ſions, and ſay not unto thyſelf, The good things of “ the wicked, and of the impious men, and of the tyrant “ are increaſed unto them; although in wickedneſs, and “ in tyranny, and in impiety they daily increaſe.

“ Thou oughteſt firſt to underſtand the “ cauſe of their increaſing proſperity. For the cauſe is, “ that perhaps (reflecting on the bounties of their true “ benefactor) they may turn back from their wickedneſs “ and oppreſſions, and be grateful for the favours which “ they receive.

“ But if they neglect to pay the tribute “ of gratitude to their God, and return not back to the “ holy gate, and if they forget the bounties of their “ Creator, and the prophet of their Creator, they ſhall in “ the end be overtaken by the anger and the vengance of “ the omnipotent chaſtiſer.”

When the letter of my venerable Peer came to my hands, I wreſted from the graſp of the op-

preſſors

وکاه باشد که صلحا واتقیا ونیکو
کاران وبیکناهان بشامت افعال واعمال بدان در
بلا افتند وکرفتار شوند چه آتش که در نیستان
افتد تر وخشک آنرا بسوزد

واز ترقیات واستدراجات کفار وفجار
وظلمه وفساق تعجب نکني وبغلط نروي وبا خود
نکويء که ظالمان وفاسقان وفاجران هرچند ظلم
وفسق وفجور بیشتر میکنند نعمت ایشان بیشتر
میشود

پس سبب بسیاري نعمت ایشان را باید
دانست چه سببش اینست که شاید نظر بر عنایت
منعم حقیقي کرده از ظلم وفسق باز آیند وشکر
نعمت بجاي آورند

چون از اداي شکر آلهي غافل شوند
وبدرکاه سجاني باز کشت ننمایند ونعمت خدا
ورسول خدا فراموش کنند در آخر بغضب وسخط
ایزدي کرفتار کردند

چون نامه پیر من بمن رسید ملک
خدا را از چنک ظالمان وکافران وملاحدان ومنافقان
وفاسقان

" and affift the defcendants and pofterity of that holy " meffenger.

" And thofe princes who feed on the boun-" ties of the Creator, and yet rebel againft their God and " his prophet, thou fhalt drive out from the kingdoms of " the Lord. And thou fhalt act with juftice in the land " of thy Creator: for it is faid, That dominion may be " continued to the infidel; but that to the tyrant it fhall " not be continued.

" And it is thy duty to root out from the " country of God all pollutions and abominations; for " evil practices have that effect on the world, which per-" nicious aliment hath on the human body. Obliterate " every veftige of cruelty and oppreffion.

" And afcribe not the continued profpe-" rity of the tyrant in this world to the merits of the " tyrant: for the caufe of the long duration of the power " of the wicked and the oppreffors is this, that they may " bring forth into action all the wickednefs and all the " crimes which they have treafured up in their hearts, " and then be overtaken by the wrath and indignation of " Almighty God.

" It fhall fometimes come to pafs, that " the omnipotence of the Creator fhall at once chaftize " the cruel, and the wicked, and the impious, with a " variety of punifhments; by chains, and by prifons; " and by defolation, and by famine, and by hunger; by " an univerfal peftilence, and by fudden death; and by " unforefeen deftruction.

وذربات آنحضرت را نصرت دهي

وسلاطين را که نعمتهاي خدا ميخورند وبخدا ورسول وي باغي شده اند از ملك خدا اخراج نماي؛ ودر ملك خدا عدالت بكار بري كه گفته اند ملك بكفر باقي ماند وبظلم باقي نماند

وترا است كه افعال قبيحه واعمال شنيعه از ملك خدا براندازي كه افعال بد در عالم آن اثر ميكند كه غذاي بد در بدن واثار ظلم را محو نماي؛

وطول بقاي ظالم را در عالم حمل بر نيكي ظالم نكني وسبب طول بقاي ظالمان وفاسقان آنست كه ظلم وفسقي كه در نهاد ايشان نهاده اند از قوت بفعل آورند آنكاه بسخط وغضب آلهي كرفتار كردند

كاه باشد كه قدرت آلهي ظلمه وفسقه وفجره را به بند وزندان وتاراج وقحط وكرسنكي ووباء عام وموت فجاء بيك مرتبه كرفتار كرداند

وكاه

THE day I paſt in examining the difficulties of conqueſt with wiſe and experienced men; and in the night when I laid myſelf down in the chamber of repoſe, I deliberated on the execution of my reſolutions, and I formed the plan on which they were to be conducted.

AND I myſelf reflected on the meaſures I ſhould purſue in the reduction of kingdoms; how I ſhould advance, and which way I ſhould retreat. And I alſo conſidered thoſe things which concerned my ſoldiers, whom I ſhould encourage and reward, and whom I ſhould order upon ſervice; that I might not err in my reſolves. And I exerted foreſight and circumſpection in every tranſaction. And the leaders of my ſoldiers who attached themſelves unto me, I treated with kindneſs and diſtinction; and I conducted myſelf with ſeeming attention towards thoſe who were my enemies.

AND I conſidered as baſe-born thoſe on whom I had conferred favours, and who, for the good which they had received, returned evil. For it is the proverb of the prophet of the Creator of men and angels, 'That the baſe-born will not depart from the world, 'until he hath deceived and injured his patron, and be'nefactor.'

MY venerable PEER wrote unto me, ſaying, "It is thy duty to act in obedience to the commands of "thy God and the prophet of thy God, and to protect

وروزها با ارباب تجربه وهوشمندان
شطرنج ملک کیري مي باختم وشبها که در خوابکاه
تکیه میزدم در تهشیت امور مملکت تفکر میکردم
وصورت انجام آنرا بخود تصویر میمنودم

وطریق ملک کیري را خود بخود اندیش
میکردم که از کدام راه در آیم وکدام طرف بدر
آیم ودر معاملات سپاه فکر میکردم که کدام یکي را
تربیت نمایم وچه کسرا کار فرمایم تا غلط نکنم وپیش
بیني در هر کار مینمودم وهر کس از اعیان سپاه
که بمن دوستي کردند بایشان احسان نمودم وهر
کس بمن دشمني کرد بوي مدارا کردم

وکساني که بآنها نیکي کردم وآنها
بمن بدي کردند ایشانرا حرام زاده دانستم که قول
رسول رب العالمین است که ولد الزنا از دنیا بیرون
نرود تا بمحسن خود بدي نکند

پیر من بمن نوشت که ترا است
که بحکم خدا ورسول خدا عمل نمايء وآل
وذربات

SECONDLY, I uſed reflection, and caution, and circumſpection, that I might not err in execution. And ſuch was the favour of the Almighty, that every determination which I formed, proved in the end judicious and ſucceſsful. I informed myſelf of the diſpoſitions and genius of the natives of every country; and I accommodated myſelf to their prejudices in the appointment of their governors. Book II.

THIRDLY, I united unto myſelf three hundred and thirteen reſolute men, of nobility, of bravery, and of wiſdom; and ſo firmly were they united, that the whole, it might be ſaid, were as one perſon: and their reſolutions, and their actions, and their declarations were the ſame. When they ſaid, "We will do thus," they did it: for until they had concluded the enterpriſe on which they had determined, they withdrew not their hands therefrom.

FOURTHLY, I poſtponed not till to-morrow the buſineſs of to-day. When lenity was neceſſary, I acted with lenity; and in the hour of ſeverity I was ſevere. At the time when delay was policy, I acted not with precipitation; and when expedition was neceſſary, I was not guilty of delay: and the buſineſs which could be concluded by addreſs and negotiation, I committed not to the ſword.

دوم اندیشه وحزم واحتیاط بسیار نمودم
تا آنکه در کارها غلط نکردم وبتایید آلهي هر
تدبیري که کردم راست ودرست افتاد ومزاج وطبایع
اهل هر ملکي را بخاطر آوردم وموافق طبیعت ایشان
سلوک کرده حاکم تعین نمودم

سیوم سیصد وسیزده مردم مردانه اصیل
وشجاع وفرزانه بخود متفق ساختم وایشان در اتفاق
بمرتبه بودند که کویا همکي ایشان یک تن بودند
وعزیمت وراي وکفتار وکردار ایشان همي یک بود
چون میکفتند که این کار میکنم بر نمي کشتند
وتا آن کار را باتمام نمي رسانیدند دست از آن باز
نمیداشتند

چهارم کار امروزرا بفردا نینداختم ودر
هنکام نرمي نرمي بکار بردم ودر وقت درشتي درشتي
کردم ودر زمان تاني شتاب نکردم ودر کار شتاب درنک
ننمودم وکاري که بتدبیر سر انجام یافتني بشمشیر
نمیکشادم

ورروزها

of Khorausaun, Sooltaun Gheeaus u deen came forth unto me, and he delivered the treasures, and the wealth, and the kingdom into my hands.

And in every kingdom, where heresy and schism shall abound, and where the inhabitants of that country, both soldiers and subjects, shall be divided into different parties and factions, the destruction of that kingdom is at hand; and it is the duty of a victorious monarch to invade that country. Thus I purified the kingdoms of Fauris and Erauk a Ajjum from the existence of the accursed heretics; and I overturned the leaders of the factions, who had each of them elevated the standard of power, throughout those territories, and I delivered the servants of God from their tyranny and oppressions.

And in every kingdom, where the articles of the faith of the inhabitants thereof shall be altered from those of the descendants of the prince of the prophets, (on whom be the blessing of Almighty God) it is the duty of an Emperor to reduce that Kingdom, and to bring back the inhabitants thereof from their evil tenets. Thus I entered the kingdom of Shaum, and punished all those who held pernicious doctrines.

When I first entered upon the reduction of kingdoms, I firmly adhered to four certain maxims.

First, in those things which appertain to the acquisition of dominions, I acted from deep deliberation, and from mature counsel.

Secondly,

دار الملک خراسان سلطان غیاث الدین آمده مملکت خراسان را با خزاین ودفاین پیشکش کرد

ودر هر ملکي که الحاد وزندقه بسیار شود واهل آن دیار از سپاه ورعیت بطوایف متنوعه متفرق شوند زوال آن مملکت نزدیک رسیده باشد جهان ستان را است که بر آن مملکت ترکتاز آورد چنانچه من ممالک عراق عجم وفارس را از وجود ملاعین ملاحده پاک ساختم وملوک طوایف را بر انداختم وبندهاي خدا را از ظلم ایشان که هریک در ناحیه علم سلطنت بر افراخته بودند نجات دادم

ودر هر ملکي که عقاید اهالي آن ملک از عقاید خاندان حضرت سید المرسلین صلوات الله علیه تغیر یابد سلاطین را واجب است که آن ولایت را مسخر گردانند واهالي آن ملک را از اعتقاد بد ایشان باز آورند چنانچه من بمملکت شام در آمده جماعت که بد اعتقاد بودند ایشانرا بسزا رسانیدم

وچون شروع در ملک گیري کردم چهار امر را پیش نهاد خاطر خود ساختم

اول در امور ملک گیري تدبیر وکنکاش درست بکار بردم

دوم

kingdom from the hand of the tyrant, and deliver it over to the upright aſſailant. THUS, from a regard to juſtice and the law, I delivered the country of Mauwur u Nuhur from the hands of the Ouzbuk tyrants.

AND in whatever country the holy laws are diſregarded; where they neglect thoſe to whom the Almighty hath given dignity; where they injure and oppreſs his choſen ſervants; it is the duty of a conqueror, with a firm determination to ſupport the faith and the laws of Mahummud (on whom be the bleſſing of God) to invade that country: for the prophet of the Lord ſhall aſſiſt him in all his undertakings. THUS I wreſted from Sooltaun Muhmood (the grandſon of Feeroze Shaah) from Mulloo Khaun, and from Saurung, the capital of the empire of Hindoſtaun; and I re-eſtabliſhed the true faith; and I overturned the habitations of the idols in that country.

IT is the duty of a victorious king to bring under his authority every empire or kingdom, where the inhabitants thereof are oppreſſed by their prince and ruler, and where the hearts of the people are turned aſide from their governor. No ſooner ſhall the upright prince approach, than that kingdom ſhall fall into his hands.

THUS I delivered the kingdom of Khorauſaun from the princes of the houſe of Kurroot. As ſoon as I advanced, with the reſolution to reduce the capital of

از دست ظالمان اوزبکیه بنیت عدالت انتزاع نمودم

ودر هر ملکي که شریعت ضعیف باشد وبزرک کردهاي خدارا عزیز ندارند وبندها خاص خداي تعالي را آزرده کردانند سلطان ملک کیررا است که نیت رواج دین وشریعت محمدي صلي الله علیه وسلم کرده بدآن ملک در آید که رسول خدا ویرا تایید خواهد نمود چنانچه من دار الملک هندوستان را از سلطان محمود نبیره فروز شاه وملوخان وسارنک انتزاع نمودم ودین وشریعت را رواج دادم بتخانهاي آن دیاررا خراب ساختم

وهر مملکتي که متوطنان وساکنان آن مملکت از حاکم ووالي خود در آزار باشند ودلهاي اهل آن دیار از والي خود منصرف کردد ملک ستان را است که آن ملک را بحیطه تصرف در آورد وبمجرد توجه سلطان نیکو سیر آن ملک مسخر کردد

چنانچه من ممالک خراسان را از سلاطین کرت انتزاع نمودم وبمجرد توجه من بعزیمت تسخیر

throne; and the receivers of petitions on the right and on the left;

And that the ſoldiers in general, and the imperial domeſtics, ſhould ſtand in lines according to their degrees, and be attentive to keep in their proper ſtations.

And I commanded, that four Meer Toozzuk † ſhould eſtabliſh and preſerve order in the imperial aſſembly; before, and behind, and on the right, and on the left of the throne.

And I commanded, when the aſſembly was formed and regulated, that among the inferior people a thouſand diſhes of meat, and a thouſand loaves, ſhould be diſtributed; and that a thouſand diſhes of meat and a thouſand loaves ſhould be brought into the imperial aſſembly; and that five hundred of that thouſand ſhould be ſent to the Ameers of tribes, and to the chiefs; to each by his name, and by his title.

Regulations concerning the reduction of kingdoms.

If in any kingdom tyranny, and oppreſſion, and iniquity ſhall be predominant, it is the duty of a prince, from a regard to juſtice and the law, to reſolve on the expulſion and extirpation of the authors of that oppreſſion and iniquity; and to aſſault that kingdom. For Almighty God from the ſame motives will wreſt that

† Regulators, maſters of the ceremonies.

باشد وداد خواه در چپ وراست بایستند وسایر سپاه وخدم وحشم بمراتب خود صف زده ایستاده شوند وجای خودرا نکاهدارند وامر نمودم که چهار میر تزک دست راست ودست چپ وپیش وپس مجلس را تزک دهند

وحکم کردم که چون مجلس بر تزوک در آید هزار طبق آش وهزار نان در مجلس عام شیلان بکشند وهزار طبق در محفل خاصش حاضر آورند از این جمله پانصد طبق به الوس امرا وسرداران نام بنام بفرستند

## تزوک ملک کیری

در هر ملکی که ظلم وجور وفسق بسیار شود سلاطین را است که به نیت عدالت عزیمت دفع ورفع فسق وظلم بسته بر آن ملک ترکتاز آورند که تنکری تعالی بهمین نیت آن ملک را از ظالم بکیرد وبه عادل بسپارد چنانچه من ولایت ماوراالنهر از

ferent ranks encircle and ſit round the throne in regular order. Book II.

And that the deſcendants of the prophet, and the judges, and the theologians, and the learned men, and the prelates, and the grandees, and the nobles ſhould ſit on the right hand of the throne.

And that the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, and the Nouniaun, and the chiefs, and the leaders of tribes, and of Toumaunaut and of Kuſhoonaut, and the Mingbauſhee, and the Euzbauſhee, and the Ounbauſhee-Ameers ſhould take their places ſuitably to their ranks and their ſtations, on the left hand of the throne.

And I appointed a place oppoſite to the throne for the Deewaunbeghi and for the Vizzeers. And I ordered that the leading men and the magiſtrates of the empire, ſhould form a line and ſeat themſelves behind the Vizzeers;

And that the ſelect ſoldiers, who had obtained the title of Bahaudur, and the mighty men of prowefs ſhould ſit on the right hand in the rear of the throne. And the leaders of the light troops I ordered to be ſeated in the rear of the throne on the left hand.

And I commanded that that the Ameer of the Hurrauwul ſhould take his ſtation in the front; and that the chief of the Yuſſauwul † ſhould ſtand at the door of the imperial pavilion, oppoſite the foot of the throne;

† The chief of the meſſengers. *Mogul.*

موافق مراتب خود هاله وار صف زده بر دور سریر سلطنت بنشینند

وسادات وقضات وعلما وفضلا ومشایخ واکابر واشراف بر طرف دست راست جلوس نمایند

وامیر الامرا وبیکلر بیکیان وامرا ونونیان وسرداران وامیران الوس وتومانات وقشونات ومینک باشیان وبوز باشیان واون باشیان مطابق مراتب خودها طرف دست چپ جلوس نمایند

وبراي دیوان بیکي ووزرا در مقابل تخت جاي نشستن مقرر کردم وکلانتران وکدخدایان مهالک در عقب وزرا صف زده نشسته باشند

وبهادرانیکه که خطاب بهادري یافته باشند وجوانان شمشیر زن در عقب سریر سلطنت طرف دست راست بنشینند وقراول بیکیان را طرف دست چپ عقب تخت حکم نشستن کردم

وامیر هراول در پیش روي اورن بکیرد ومحرم یساول بر در خرکاه پیش پایه تخت ایستاده باشد

And by experience it was known unto me, that a wiſe enemy is preferable to a fooliſh friend. Thus Ameer Hooſſein, the grandſon of Ameer Kurghun, was one of thoſe fooliſh friends: and the miſchiefs which in his friendſhip he did unto me, were ſuch as no enemy would do in the exceſs of his enmity.

Ameer Khodaudaud once ſaid unto me, "Watch thou thy enemy, as thou wouldſt guard a ruby "of luſtre, or a jewel of high price: but when thou "meeteſt with a ſtone of Laukh, cruſh him thereon un-"til not one particle of him remain."

He alſo ſaid, "When an enemy fleeth "unto thee for protection, and kneeleth before thee, "have compaſſion upon him, and receive him with kind-"neſs." Thus I acted towards Touktummiſh Khaun. When he fled to me for ſhelter, I treated him with tenderneſs and humanity.

If an enemy, after taſting of thy generoſity and bounty, return again to enmity, deliver him over to the juſtice of the Almighty.

He is a true friend who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend; or if he doth, is willing to receive his acknowledgements.

## Regulations of precedency and of admission to the imperial presence.

I ordained that my ſons, and my grandſons, and my relations, ſhould, according to their different

وبتجربه من رسيد كه دشمن عاقل بهتر از دوست جاهل باشد چنانچه امير حسين نبيره امير قزغن از دوستان جاهل بود وانچه در دوستى بمن كرد هيچ دشمن در دشمني نكند

امير خداداد بمن كفت كه دشمن را چون لعل وجواهر نكاهدار وچون بسنك لاخي برسي چنانش بر سنك زن كه اثري از وي نماند

ونيز كفت كه چون دشمن پناه آورد وزانو زند بر وي رحم كن ومروت نما چنانچه من به توقتمش خان كردم چون بمن پناه آورد مروت كردم

اكر دشمن مروت واحسان ديده ديكر باره بر سر دشمني رود ويرا بپروردكار بسپار

ودوست آنست كه از دوست نرنجد واكر برنجد عذر پذير باشد

## تزوك اجلاس واورن

امر نمودم كه فرزندان ونبابر وخويشان موافق

treſſes which he had ſuffered, by kindneſs and by gratuities; and by proper marks of my favour I conferred honour upon him.

But on the Ameers of the tribes of Suldoze and of Jitteh I uttered execrations: for, having exalted Kaubul Shaah of the line of Chungaze to the dignity of Khaun, and ſworn fidelity and friendſhip unto him, when they heard of my exaltation to the throne, they broke their faith and their engagements, and, to flatter and to ſoothe me, put him to death.

And to thoſe who had envied my fortune, and who had endeavoured to ſubvert my power, I conducted myſelf with ſuch kindneſs and generoſity, that they were confounded at my goodneſs, and ſunk under the ſenſe of their own unworthineſs.

And my friends who preſented themſelves before me, thoſe who had ever acted in ſubmiſſion to my will, I conſidered as the partners of my fortune: and I regarded not the riches and the wealth which I conferred upon them.

For by experience it is known unto me, that he is a firm aſſociate, who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend; and who is the enemy of the enemy of his friend; and who heſitateth not to hazard his life, when occaſion ſhall require. Thus certain of my Ameers followed my fortunes even to death; nor did I with-hold from them aught which I had.

And

تلافي رنجش وي کردم وبمراتب لايق ايشانرا امتياز بخشيدم

ليکن بر امراي سلدوز وجته نفرين کردم که کابل شاه چنکيزي را که بامارت وخاني برداشته بودند وبوي عهد ودوستي وپيمان اخلاص بربستند چون خبر جلوس من بر تخت سلطنت بمسامع ايشان رسيد نقض عهد کرده ويرا بجهت خوش آمد من بقتل رسانيدند

وکساني را که در مقام شکست من در آمده بر من حسد بردند آن قدر بايشان مروت واحسان کردم که شرمنده احسان من شده غرق عرق خجالت کشتند

ودوستان چون بمن التجا آوردند چون هميشه برضاي من کارکرده بودند ايشانرا شريک دولت دانسته در عطاي مال واسباب مضايقه نکردم

وبتجربه من رسيده که دوست صادق آنست که از دوست نرنجد ودشمن دشمن دوست باشد واگر افتد در دادن جان مضايقه نکند چنانچه بعضي امراي من تا بجان همراهي من کردند ومن هم در هيچ چيز بايشان مضايقه نکردم

وبتجربه

Let the Ameer, who in the hour of peril and diſtreſs adhereth to his prince, and ſtandeth firm in the field of ſlaughter, be conſidered as a brother. Thus at the time when the forces of Kuſh deſerted my ſtandard, no one remained with me, or conſented to ſhare my fortunes, except Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus; and I afterwards eſteemed Ameer Jaukoo as a beloved brother; and I admitted him to a participation in my fortunes; and I made him an Ameer ul Omrau; and I conferred upon him the kingdoms of Bullukh and of Hiſſaur.

Regulations for my conduct and behaviour both to friends and to enemies.

On the day on which I conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, and mounted the throne of empire in the capital city of Summurkund, I conducted myſelf in the ſame manner towards my enemies and my friends. The Ameers of Buddukhſhaun, and other Ameers of Kuſhoonaut, both Toork and Taucheek, who had done me injuries; and who had practiſed deceits upon me; and who had drawn their ſwords in oppoſition unto me; and who were alarmed by the remembrance of their evil conduct; when they ſubmitted to my authority, I received them with ſuch kindneſs and courteſy, that they bluſhed at my generoſity and goodneſs.

And to every one, whom I had injured or diſtreſſed, I made compenſation; and I balanced the diſ-

وهر اميري كه در وقت تنك قدم
اخلاص در ميدان مصاف استوار دارد وطريق مرافقت
بجاي آورد ويرا بمنزله برادر شمارند چنانچه وقتي كه
امرا ولشكر خط كش از من رو كردان شدند بغير
از امير جاكوي برلاس هيچكس در نزد من نماند
وهمراهي نكرد من امير جاكورا برادر عزيز دانسته
شريك دولت خود كردانيدم وامير الامرا ساخته
مملكت بلخ وحصار بوي ارزاني داشتم

تزوك سلوك ومعاش با دوست ودشمن
روزي كه مملكت توران را مسخر ساختم
ودر تختكاه سمرقند بر سرير سلطنت جلوس نمودم
بدوست ودشمن يكسان سلوك كردم امراي بدخشان
وبعضي امراي قشونات از ترك وتاچيك كه بمن
بديها كرده وحيلها برانكيخته وبر من شمشيرها
كشيده بودند واز كردار نا پسنديده خود متوهم
مي بودند چون بمن آنجا آوردند چندان احسان
كردم كه شرمنده عنايت واحسان من شدند

وهر كسرا رنجانيده بودم باحسان وانعام
تلافي

If a Vizzeer, or other ſervant, through policy and deſign, form an intimacy with his maſters foe; and endeavour, under the garb of that friendſhip, to promote the intereſt of his prince, let him be eſteemed amongſt the wiſeſt and the beſt of ſervants and of friends. But if a ſervant oppoſe his maſters's intereſt, and intrigue with the enemy, preſent ſuch a ſervant as a gift to the foe.

If a ſervant fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the inſinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice; permit not his glory to be concealed, but let it be exhibited in ten-fold ſplendor; and let him be exalted to a ſuperior ſtation, that other ſervants may be inſpired with a thirſt for glory.

If a body of troops, or an Ameer, deſert their prince, and unite with the enemy, let them not again be admitted into his ſervice. Thus the leaders of the forces of Kuſh turned from me their faces, and united themſelves with Ameer Haujee Burlaus; and after that I confided not in them.

Whatever ſervant, unto whom the government of a kingdom ſhall be truſted, who treacherouſly leagueth with the enemy, and delivereth that kingdom into the hands of the foe; let him be put to death. But let the ſervant, who defendeth and preſerveth a kingdom, be raiſed to a diſtinguiſhed and exalted rank.

واگر وزیري ونوکري از روي راي وتدبیر با دشمن رابطه آشنایي درست سازد ودرین لباس خواهد که کار صاحب خودرا ساخته کردند ویرا عاقلترین دوستان وچاکران باید دانست ولیکن نوکري که بدشمن بسازد وبا صاحب خود نفاق ورزد این چنین نوکري را به دشمن ارزاني دارند

واگر نوکري شمشیر زند وغنیم را شکست دهد سخن ارباب غرض را در حق وي نشنوند وکار ویرا پوشیده ندارند وبیک کار ویرا به ده باز نمایند وبر مرتبه اش بیفزایند تا دیگر نوکرانرا رغبت جان فشاني بهم رسد

وهر فوجي وهر امیري که روي از راه مرافقت وموافقت برگرداند وبه غنیم پیوند ایشانرا در یورت اورن ندهند چنانچه سرداران لشکر کش از من رو گردان شده بامیر حاجي برلاس پیوستند ومن بعد بر ایشان اعتماد نکردم

وهر نوکري را که حاکم ملکي کرداند ووي از روي بیوفاي به غنیم سازش نموده ملک را بدشمن بدهد ویرا از قید حیات بر آورند ونوکر ملکدار بمراتب ارجمند بلند مرتبه کردانند

وهر

Thus Munguli Booghau, and Hydur Andookhodee, and Ameer Aboo Saeed, on the part of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, oppoſed and attacked me with ſix thouſand horſemen, on the banks of the water of Bullukh. Afterwards, taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour, they ſought protection from me; and I received them with honour and eſteem: and I conferred upon them the provinces of Andijaun, and Hyſſaur Shaudumaun, and Toorkiſtaun.

And I alſo ordained that the ſervant of the foe who was in the confidence of his maſter, and, who in times of war and of ſervice, vibrated the chain of friendſhip with the enemy of his prince; and who forgot the ſacred ties of lord and of ſervant, and the fidelity due for the ſalt and the bread which he had eaten; and who ſtrove to make the enemy of his maſter the conqueror of his maſter; I ordained that ſuch a wretch ſhould never be admitted into my ſervice. Time ſhall hereafter inflict upon him his reward.

The ſervant who quitteth his maſter in times of trial, and offereth his ſervices to another, is not worthy to be admitted: but when by many and long ſervices his fidelity ſhall be proved, he may then be received into favour. If in times of peace and tranquillity he offereth his ſervices, let him be received with kindneſs.

چنانچه منکلي بوغا وحيدر اندوخودي
وامير ابو سعيد با شش هزار سوار بر کنار آب بلخ
بمن رو برو شده جنک کردند بعد از آن از تغلقتيمور
خان نا اميد کشته بمن پناه آوردند ايشانرا عزت
داده احترام کردم وولايت حصار شادمان واندجان
وترکستان بديشان دادم

وامر نمودم که هر نوکري که در
نزد غنيم معتبر باشد ودر وقت جنک وکارزار سلسله
دوستي بدشمن صاحب خود بجنباند وحق نمک
وصاحبي ونوکري ونعمت را فراموش کند ودشمن
صاحب خود را خواهد که بر صاحب خود غالب
کرداند اين قسم شخصي را در خدمت راه ندهند روزکار
سزايش را در کنارش خواهد نهاد

وهر نوکري که در وقت کار از صاحب
خود جدا شده بملازمت آيد اعتماد را شايسته نباشد
اما اکر بعد از خدمت بسيار وفاداري از وي ظاهر
شود نکاهدارند واکر در غير وقت کار وبورش آمده
ملازمت اختيار نمايد ويرا کرامي دارند

واکر

It behoveth the prince not ſpeedily to degrade the ſervant whom he hath exalted, not to pull down him whom his own hand hath raiſed up. Let him not neglect thoſe whom he knoweth or remembereth.

And if it ſhould chance that without cauſe he put a good ſervant to ſhame, let him make amends by conferring two-fold honour upon him: and let him refer that ſervant to his own affection and fidelity: for if he harboureth hatred and revenge, according to his evil qualities ignominy ſhall be his reward. But the ſervant who by good conduct acquireth a place in the heart of his prince, ſhall proſper in conſequence thereof.

If a ſervant ſpontaneouſly, or otherwiſe, ſeparate himſelf from his maſter, and if he afterwards turn back unto him, let that ſervant be received with honour: ſince, aſhamed of his deſertion, he returneth again to his prince.

Every ſervant who was faithful to his prince, and who drew his ſword on the ſide of my enemy; if ſuch a man became my priſoner in battle, or if, hopeleſs of reward from the foe, he came in unto me and offered his ſervices, I ordained that he ſhould be received with honour and eſteem; and that his fidelity ſhould be acknowledged and relied on; and that dignities ſuperior to thoſe, which he formerly poſſeſſed, ſhould be conferred upon him.

Thus

وسلاطين راست كه هر نوكري را كه
عزت دهند زود بيعزت نكردانند وبرداشته خود را نه
اندازند وهركس را دانسته وشناخته باشد فراموش
نكنند

اگر احيانا بيعزت كنند در عزتش دو
برابر افزوده تلافي نمايند وآن نوكرا باخلاص
واعتقاد وي حواله سازند كه اگر كينه ونغاق
ورزد بالخاصيه نكبت بوي روي خواهد آورد وهر
نوكري كه در دل صاحب به نيكي جا كند
روز به گردد

وهر نوكري كه باختيار وغير اختيار
جدا شود وچون مراجعت نمايد ويرا محترم گردانند
كه از جداي خود پشيمان شده ومعاودت نموده

وامر نمودم كه هر نوكري كه از
جانب غنيم شمشير از نيام بر آورده ونمک حلال باشد
اگر اين چنين مردي در جنگ بدست افتد يا از
طرف غنيم نا اميد شده بيآيد وملازمت اختيار كند
ويرا عزيز نمايند وبر مراتبش بيفزايند وويرا وفادار
دانند

چنانچه

On the ſervant who is incapable of attachment, and who harboureth reſentment, contempt and ignominy ſhall moſt certainly fall in conſequence of his evil qualities: but the proſperity and the riches of the faithful and affectionate ſervant ſhall be daily increaſing.

He is a good and faithful ſervant who taketh not offence at the ſlights or the reprimands of his prince, who entertaineth not revenge in conſequence thereof; but taketh the faults of his maſter upon himſelf: ſuch a ſervant is worthy of the affection and the kindneſs of his prince.

The ſervant whoſe eye is fixed on the morſels and the fragments † which fall from the table of his lord, will undoubtedly be negligent in the moment of trial.

The ſervant who forgetteth his duty in the hour of action, and turneth his face from the foe of his prince; let the face of that ſervant be ſeen no more.

The ſervant who in the hour of trial ſearcheth after excuſes; and who on the day of enterpriſe demandeth his diſmiſſion, and who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat, and who transfereth till to-morrow the buſineſs of to-day, (thus Boulau and Timour Aghlaun acted towards me, and deſerted me in the hour of danger) let the names of ſuch ſervants be held in contempt; and let them be delivered over to the Almighty.

† i. e. A ſelf-intereſted and avaricious ſervant.

وهر نوکري که بي اخلاص وکينه
دار باشد از اثر بي اخلاص وکينه وي البته نکبت
بوي روي آورد وليکن دولت ونعمت نوکر باخلاص
روز بروز در تزايد باشد
راسخ الاعتقاد نوکري باشد که از
اعراض واعتراض صاحب نرنجد وکينه نورزد وتقصيري
که از صاحبش بوقوع آيد آنرا بخود کيرد آن
نوکر لايق تربيت باشد
ونوکري که نظرش بر لقمه وخرقه
باشد البته در وقت کار سستي کند
نوکري که حق خدمت فراموش کند
ودر وقت کار روي کردان شود ديکر رويش را نبايد
ديد
ونوکري که در وقت کار بهانه جويد
وهنکام يساق رخصت طلبد ونظر بر پشت پا داشته
باشد وکار امروز بفردا حواله نمايد چنانچه بولا
وتيمور اغلان بمن کردند ومرا بر سر کار کذاشتند
نام اين قسم نوکران نبايد برد وايشان را به
پروردکار بايد سپرد

وسلاطين

AND of the tribe of Toughauee I appoinied Aali Durvaiſh to the ſtation of Ameer. Book II

AND of the tribe of Kipchauk I raiſed Ameer Saur Booghau to the dignity of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Aurlaut I appointed Ameer Muviud (unto whom one of my ſiſters had been given in marriage) Ameer ul Omrau: and Sullauichee Bahaudur of the ſame tribe I made an Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Tautaur I raiſed Kowvung Khaun to the rank of Ameer; and the remaining twenty eight Ouyemauk, unto whom the Tumghau had not been given, I appointed commanders over their own tribes: that in times of war and of ſervice they might attend in the field, and bring with them their horſemen, agreeably to the regulation.

RULES CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF SERVANTS TOWARDS THEIR PRINCE, AND OF THE PRINCE TOWARDS HIS SERVANTS.

BE it known to every good ſervant, that that which he expecteth from his own dependant, his prince alſo expecteth from him. Let him not therefore be backward in his ſervices; but let him know, that if his maſter be at firſt well-inclined unto him, and afterwards be ill-inclined unto him, he muſt lay the fault and the conſequence to himſelf and not to his maſter.

HE is a good ſervant who attacheth himſelf unto his maſter, and doeth his duty through that attachment.

واز الوس طوغاي علي درويشرا امارت دادم

واز الوس قپچاق امير سار بوغا را امير ساختم

واز الوس ارلات امير مويد را كه خواهر من در حباله زوجيت وي بود امير الامرا ساختم وسلابچي بهادررا امير گردانيدم

واز الوس تاتار كونك خان را امارت دادم وبيست وهشت اويماق ديگر كه به تمغا نرسيدند ايشانرا امير الوس ساختم كه در وقت يساق در چار وپلچار حاضر شوند وموافق تزوك سواران خودرا حاضر سازند

تزوك سلوك نوكر به صاحب ومعاش صاحب بنوكر

كه نوكر راست بداند كه انچه وي از نوكر خود چشم داشت دارد صاحب وي هم از وي همان چشم داشت دارد پس خودرا در خدمت صاحب معاف ندارد وبداند كه اگر صاحبش اول بوي بر سر عنايت بود وآخر بي عنايت شد تقصير ونقصان بر خود نهد نه بر صاحب خود

ونوكر راست است كه با صاحب اخلاص بورزد وباخلاص كار كند

وهر

Ameer Jaukoo, and Ameer Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun Shaah; on whom I alſo conferred the governments of frontier kingdoms. And a hundred others of the tribe of Burlaus I appointed Mingbauſhees. And I exalted Ameer Jullaul u deen Burlaus to the dignity of tenth Ameer; and Ameer Abou Saeed of the ſame tribe to the rank of ninth Ameer.

AND from amongſt the tribe of Turkhaun I raiſed Ameer Bauezzeed to the ſtation of ſeventh Ameer; and I appointed twenty perſons of the ſame tribe Euzbauſhees.

AND of the tribe of Aurghoon I raiſed Tauſh Khaujeh to the dignity of eighth Ameer; and I gave the appointments of Mingbauſhees, and of Euzbauſhees, and of Ounbauſhees, to twenty people of that tribe.

AND of the tribe of Jullauir I exalted Touk Timour and Share Behraum to the ranks of eighth and of ninth Ameer; and twenty of the ſame tribe I appointed Euzbauſhees and Ounbauſhees.

AND of the tribe of Toulkchee I conferred the dignity of Ameer on Aijauyetoo Burdi.

AND of the tribe of Douldee, I raiſed Taubaun Bahaudur and Saun Bahaudur to the dignity of Ameers.

AND of the tribe of Moghool I exalted Khaujeh Aghlaun to the rank of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Suldoze I appointed Elchee Bahaudur to the ſtation of Ameer.

AND

ارزاني داشتم وامير جاكو وامير ايكو تيمور وامير سليمان شاه كه بايشان هم سرحد ومملكت ارزاني داشتم وصد نغر ديكر را از الوس برلاس مينك باشي ساختم وامير جلال الدين برلاس را امير دهم كردانيدم وامير ابو سعيد را امير نهم كردم

واز الوس ترخان امير بايزيد را امير هغتم ساختم وبيست نغر از ايشان را يوز باشي نمودم

واز الوس ارغون تاش خواجه را امير هشتم كردم وبيست نغررا مينك باشي ويوز باشي واون باشي مقرر نمودم

واز الوس جلاير توك تيمور وشير بهرام را امير هشتم ونهم ساختم وبيست نغررا يوز باشي واون باشي كردم

واز الوس تولكچي الجايتو بردي را امارت دادم

واز الوس دولدي تابان بهادر وسان بهادر را امارت دادم

واز الوس مغول تيمور خواجه اغلان را بمرتبه امارت رسانيدم

واز الوس سلدوز يلچي بهادررا امارت دادم

واز

I ordained that the Ameer of every Auloos, of every Kuſhoon, and of every Toumaun ſhould, when called to fulfil his military ſervice in times of war, ſelect and bring with him to the field from each Khirgauh * one horſeman, from each Duvvauleh Chouk † one horſeman, and from each Khauneh † one horſeman; and that the water and the forage on the lands where they ſhould be ſtationed ſhould be allowed unto them for their ſubſiſtence; and that an Eurghee and a Biruck ‡ ſhould be granted to the Ameer of every Auloos; and that thoſe Ameers ſhould attend in the field with forces proportioned to the ſtrength and the numbers of their Aulooſaut and their Toumaunaut.

AND I ordained that to twelve of the forty Ouyemauk which had ſubmitted to my government, Tumghau ‖ ſhould be given (that they might be claſſed amongſt my ſelect and ſuperior ſervants:) to the Ouyemauks of Burlaus, Turkhaun, Aurghoon, Jullauir, Toulkchee, Douldee, Moghool, Suldoze, Toughauee, Kypchauk, Aurlaut, and Tautaur.

AND from among the tribe of Burlaus I ſelected four Ameer ul Omraus, Ameer Khodaudaud (unto whom I gave the kingdom of Buddukhſhaun) and

* Khirgauh is Mogul, and ſignifies a Tatar tent or hut.

† Duvvauleh Chouk is Mogul, and the meaning unknown. Khauneh ſignifies a houſe. ‡ Mogul, a little flag. ‖ i. e. Pay.

Ameer

امر نمودم که امیر هر الوسی وتومانی در هنگام یساق از هر خرگای* یک سوار واز دواله چوق* یک سوار واز سر خانه یک سوار مقرر کردانند که در سفر همراه بگیرند وآبخور وعلق خور هر سر زمینی که در آن اقامت داشته باشد در وجه علوفه ایشان مقرر باشد بامرا الوسات یرغوی وبیرقی* بدهند وایشان فراخور الوسات وتومانات خودها سوار در یساقها حاضر آورنـــد

وامر نمودم که از جملهٔ چهل اویماق که بحیــط ضبط در آمده دوازده اویــماق را تمغــا نمایند که از جمله نوکران خاصه باشند بــرلاس ترخان ارغون جلایر تولکچی دولدی مغول سلدوز طوغای قپچاق ارلات تاتار

واز الوس برلاس چهار کس را امــیـر الامرا ساختم امیر خداداد که بوی مملکت بدخشان ارزانی

Book II.

AND I commanded that all concerns appertaining to the imperial dignity, the regulations of my dominions, and the diſmiſſion, and the changing, and the appointing of armies and of officers, and all conſultations and plans of operation ſhould be communicated unto me in my ſelect council.

AND I commanded that a confidential ſecretary (on whoſe ſecrecy dependence might be placed) ſhould at all times attend, and minute down with the pen of integrity the ſecret tranſactions and deliberations.

AND I ordained that writers of the general council ſhould be appointed, and that they ſhould relieve each other in the hall of the council, and that they ſhould write down and preſerve full and exact accounts of every matter and of every buſineſs which ſhould be ſettled and determined therein: and that all repreſentations made unto me, and all orders iſſued by me, and every matter which was debated in council, ſhould be written and inſerted in the narrative of my tranſactions.

AND I ordained that to every department of the departments of government an accomptant ſhould be appointed; and that he ſhould keep a journal of the daily expences, and of the receipts and diſburſements.

REGULATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE AMEERS OF AULOOSAUT, AND OF KUSHOONAUT, AND OF TOUMAUNAUT.

وامر نمودم که در محفل خاص امور ملکي وبند وبست مملکت وتغير وتبديل وتعين سپاه وامرا ومشاورت وتدبيرات بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که منشي محرم که صاحب اسرار تواند بود حاضر باشد که بقلم راستي مخفيات ومشورات را مي نوشته باشد

وامر نمودم که مجلس نويسان تعين نمايند که نوبت بنوبت در ديوان مجلس حاضر بوده وانچه از مهمات ومعاملات فيصل يابد ومشخص شود صورت واقعه را نوشته نگاهدارند وانچه بعرض رسد ومن حکم کنم وانچه در مجلس مذکور شود از امور کلي وجزيء همکي را بقلم در آورده داخل وقايع من نمايند

وامر نمودم که بهر کارخانه از کارخانهاي سلطنت نويسنده تعين نمايند که اخراجات ومداخل ومخارج يوميه را مي نوشته باشد

## تزوک ايالت امراي الوسات وتشونات وتومانات

امر

FOURTHLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD. It was his duty to ſuperintend the receipts, and the diſburſements, and the general expences. Book II.

AND I ordained that three Vizzeers ſhould be appointed over the frontiers and the domains appertaining unto the crown, and to regulate the concerns thereof.

AND I ordained that theſe ſeven Vizzeers ſhould be ſubject to the controul of the Deewaunbeghee: and that under his inſpection they ſhould regulate and determine the affairs and the concerns of the revenues, and lay them before me.

I commanded that an Erzbeghee † ſhould be appointed; and that he ſhould communicate to me the ſtate of the ſoldiers, and of the ſubjects, and the complaints of my people, and the increaſe or decreaſe of population and cultivation in my dominions, and the concluſion and determination of every momentous concern.

AND I ordained that the Suddur ul Suddoor ſhould lay before me the Sawurghaulaut ‡ of the deſcendants of the prophet, of the ſtipendiaries, and penſioners; and that the eccleſiaſtical judge ſhould communicate unto me all eccleſiaſtical concerns; and that the civil affairs ſhould be laid before me by the civil judge.

† A preſenter of petitions.

‡ *Sawurghaul* is a Mogul word, and ſignifies a grant from the crown of lands or revenues to be enjoyed for ever by the poſſeſſor and his heirs.

چهارم وزیر کارخانها سلطنت که از
مداخل ومخارج وجمیع خرج خزانه ودواب آگاه باشد

وامر نمودم که سه وزیر بر سرحدها
وممالکت خالصه تعین نمایند که سر رشته معاملات
مالي وولایات نگاهدارند
واین هفت وزیر تابع دیوان بیگي باشند
که مهمات ومعاملات امور مالي را باتفاق دیوان بیگي
انجام داده بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که عرض بیگي مقرر باشد
که عرض احوال سپاه ورعیت وداد خواهان وخرابي
ومعموري ملک وانچه از مهمات فیصل یابد وبانجام
رسد بعرض رساند

وامر نمودم که صدر الصدور سیورغالات*
سادات وارباب وظایف واوقاف بعرض میرسانیده
باشد وقاضي اسلام امور شریعه وقاضي احداث امور
عرفي را معروض دارد

وامر

First. The vizzeer of the country and the subject. It was the businefs of this Vizzeer to fuperintend, and communicate unto me, the concerns and the affairs of the country; and the ftate and the fituation of the hufbandman, of the produce, and of the duties received, and of the deficiencies in the various provinces, of the merchandize brought in and fent out of the land, of the cultivation, and the population, and the police of all my dominions.

Secondly. The vizzeer of the armies. It was his duty to lay before me the accompts of the wages due, and the affignments granted to the troops; and to inform himfelf of the fituations and circumftances of the foldiers (that they might not be diftreffed or opprefled) and to communicate unto me the ftate and the ftrength of my armies.

Thirdly. The vizzeer of the Sauir and Huvauee. It was his duty to take poffeffion of the effects of abfentees, † and of the defunct, and of thofe who had fled their country; and to receive religious donations, and the duties on the merchandize of comers and of goers, and the taxes on the cattle, and on the pafture lands, and on the refervoirs of water. And having taken poffeffion of the produce, he was to retain it as a depofit in his hands, and to reftore the effects of the abfentees and the defunct to their lawful heirs.

† i. e. Such people as had difappeared fuddenly, and whofe abfence could not be accounted for.

Fourthly.

اول وزیر مملکت ورعیت این وزیر مهمات ومعاملات مملکت واحوال رعیت وحاصل وواصل وفاصل ولایات ومداخل ومخارج وابادانی ومعموری ونسق ملک بعرض رساند

دوم وزیر سپاه که علوفه سپاهیان وتنخواه ایشان را بعرض رساند واز احوال ایشان آگاه باشد که پریشان نشوند وعرض احوال سپاه را معروض دارد

سیوم وزیر سایر وهوای که اموال غایبی وفوتی وفراری وزکوت وباج اموال آیندگان وروندگان ومواشی ومراعی وآبخور وعلفچرا که انچه ازین مداخل جمع آید ضبط نموده بطریق امانت نگاهدارد وانچه اموال غایب واموات باشد بوارثان ایشان برساند

چهارم

that they ſhould perform their duty with care and circumſpection, and communicate intelligence of the approach of the enemy.

AND I ordained that to each of the four quarters of the camp a Kootwaul ſhould be appointed; and that the police thereof ſhould appertain unto him: that he ſhould collect the cuſtoms from the traders in the markets; and that if any thing ſhould be ſtolen from the camp, he ſhould make it good.

AND I ordered alſo that four diviſions of Chupkunchee ſhould be appointed; that they ſhould ſcour, and make themſelves maſters of, the circumjacent country to the diſtance of four Furſung from the camp; and, if any one was murdered or wounded within that diſtance, that they ſhould be accountable; and that they alſo ſhould be anſwerable for whatever was ſtolen.

AND I ordained that one third of the imperial forces ſhould be appointed to guard the frontiers of my dominions; and that the remaining two thirds ſhould attend my commands in the preſence.

REGULATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF VIZZEERS.

I ordained that four Vizzeers ſhould be appointed to attend in the Imperial Deewaun.

FIRST,

سر رشته احتیاط وهوشیاري از دست نداده خبرها رسانند

وامر نمودم که هر طرف از اطراف لشکر واردو کوتوالي مقرر باشد که حراست ونگاهباني اردو بدیشان متعلق باشد ورسوم از اهالي بازار میگرفته باشند واگر چیزي از اهل اردو بدزدي رود جواب گویند

وامر نمودم که چهار فوج چپقونچي تعین نمایند که تا چهار فرسنگي لشکررا بقید ضبط در آورند واگر کسي را مقتول ومجروح به بیند از عهده بر آیند واگر مال کسي بدزدي رود جواب گویند

وامر نمودم که سیوم حصه لشکر خدمت نگاهداشت سرحدها مقرر باشند ودو حصه در خدمت رکاب خاص حاضر باشند

## تزوک خدمت وزرا

امر نمودم که چهار وزیر در دیوان حضور مقرر باشند

اول

AND I ordered that twelve thouſand Kulchee, † men of the ſword, compleatly armed, ſhould be cantoned in the palace; to the right and to the left, and in the front and in the rear of the Imperial Deewaun: thus, that one thouſand of thoſe twelve thouſand ſhould be every night upon guard; and that over each hundred Kulchee an Euzbauſhee ſhould be appointed; and that an Eokee ‡ ſhould be given unto him. Book II.

AND I ordained that in times of war and in the field, each of the twelve ſelect Ameers, alſo the Mingbauſhees, and the Euzbauſhees and the Ounbauſhees ſhould, with twelve thouſand horſemen compleatly armed, for the ſpace of one day and one night, when marching, and when halting, be ready upon guard.

AND I commanded that thoſe twelve thouſand horſe ſhould be divided into four diviſions, and that one diviſion ſhould be poſted to the right of the camp, and one to the left thereof; and one in the front, and one in the rear; and that every watch they ſhould march out to the diſtance of half a Furſung from the camp, and there lie upon their arms;

AND that each of thoſe four diviſions ſhould appoint an advanced guard; and that each of the advanced guards ſhould detach ſcouts in their front; and

† A Mogul word, ſuppoſed to mean Guards.
‡ Mogul — A watch-word.

ودوازده هزار قلچي* شمشير بردار با يراق وصلاح در يمين ويسار وپس وپيش ديوانخانه در كشك* حاضر باشند بدين ترتيب كه هر شب هزار كس از ايشان در پاتش حاضر باشند وبر سر صد قلچي يوز باشي مقرر نمايند وبوقي* بوي بدهند

وامر نمودم كه در معارك رزم هريك از امراء دوازدهگانه ومبنك باشيان ويوز باشيان واون باشيان در لشكر ويساقها با دوازده هزار سوار صلاح دار يك شب ويك روز در پاتش خانهاي خود حاضر باشند

واين دوازده هزار سوارا چهار فوج ساخته فوجي در برانغار وفوجي در جرانغار وفوجي در پيش اوردو وفوجي در عقب تعين نمايند ونوبت بنوبت بمقدار نيم فرسنك از اوردو بر آمده بنشينند

وهريك از افواج چهاركانه هراولي از براي خود قرار دهد وهراول قراولي را تعين نموده

سر

Book II.

And thus alſo, that the ſecond, and the third, and the fourth Ameer, and from him up to the Ameer ul Omrau, each according to his rank and his ſtation, ſhould ſupply and take with him his neceſſaries, his tent, and his Autauk, and his Sauehbauns, and his horſes;

The firſt Ameer a hundred and ten horſes, and the ſecond Ameer a hundred and twenty horſes, and the third Ameer a hundred and thirty horſes, and the fourth Ameer a hundred and forty horſes; and thus up to the Ameer ul Omrau, who was not to take with him a leſs number than three hundred horſes.

And I ordained that every one of the foot-ſoldiers ſhould take with him a ſword, and a bow, and a bundle of arrows; and that he ſhould carry with him as much as he was able, let it be more or let it be leſs; but that in times of war he ſhould not have leſs than was eſtabliſhed.

Regulations of the imperial guards, and rules to be observed in the presence, in peace and in war.

I ordained that in times of peace the ſoldiers, the Ameers, the Mingbauſhees, the Euzbauſhees, and the Ounbauſhees ſhould not appear in the Imperial Deewaun without their Koollauh, † their Mozeh, ‡ and Surmozeh, || their Bukdeh, their Jaumeh § having the collar, and their ſwords.

† Cap. ‡ Boots. || A ſort of leathern clog covering the foot of the boot. § Upper coat.

 And

وهمچنین امیر دویم وسیوم وچهارم تا امیر الامرا فراخور مرتبه خود سامان خودرا از خیمه واتاق وسایبان واسپان سر انجام نمایند

امیر اول یکصد وده اسپ وامیر دوم یکصد بیست اسپ وامیر سیوم یکصد وسي اسپ وچهارم صد وچهل سر اسپ تا امیر الامرا که از سه صد سر اسپ کمتر همراه نگیرد

وپیادکان هریک شمشیري وکمان وتیر دسته بردارند وانچه توانند کم وزیاده همراه بگیرند اما در وقت جنگ کمتر از انچه تزوک بسته شده با ایشان نباشد

## تزوک پاتش حضور ومجالس بزم ورزم

امر نمودم که در مجلس بزم سپاهان وامرا ومینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان بي کلاه وموزه وسر موزه وجامه کریبان دار وبکده وشمشیر بدیوانخانه حاضر نیآیند

ودوازده

tent; and that each man ſhould be ſupplied with two horſes, and with a bow, and with a quiver of arrows, and with a ſword, and with a ſaw, and with an axe, and with an awl, and with thread, and with ten needles, and with a leathern knapſack;

And for the ſelect warriors, that every five men ſhould have one tent; and that each man ſhould take with him a ſkull-cap, and a breaſt-plate, and a ſword, and a bow, and a quiver of arrows, and his horſes agreeably to the regulations;

And that each of the Ounbauſhees ſhould have with him one tent, and a coat of mail, and a ſword, and a bow, and a quiver, and five horſes;

And that every Euzbauſhee ſhould have one tent, and ten horſes, and his arms; ſuch as the ſword, and the bow, and the quiver, and the mace, and the club, and the coat of mail, and the breaſt-plate;

And that each of the Mingbauſhees ſhould have a tent, and a Sauehbaun; † and that of arms and of armour (the coat of mail, and the breaſt-plate, and the helmet, and lances, and the ſword, and quivers, and arrows) he ſhould carry with him as much as he were able;

And that the firſt Ameer ſhould carry with him a tent, an Autauk, and two Sauehbauns; and correſponding with his rank, ſuch a quantity of arms and of armour, as might enable him to ſupply the deficiencies of others;

† A ſort of upper roof for the tent, which being elevated two or three feet above it, and projecting on all ſides beyond it, defends the owner from the heat of the ſun.

And

دو اسپ وکماني وترکشي وشمشيري واره ودرفشي وچوال وچوال دوزي وتبر تيشه وده سوزن ويک چرم پست بگيرد

وبهادرانيکه هر پنج نغر يک خيمه بردارند وهريک نغر جوشني وخودي وشمشيري وترکشي وکماني واسپان خودرا موافق تزوک همراه بگيرند

واون باشيان هريک خيمه وزرهي وشمشيري وترکشي وکماني وپنج سر اسپ با خود داشته باشد

ويوز باشيان هريک خيمه وده سر اسپ واسلحه از شمشير وترکش وکمان وگرز وکاسکن وزره وبکتر متعدد بردارد

ومينک باشيان هريک خيمه وسايباني وسلاح از زره وجوشن وخود ونيزه وشمشير وترکش وتبر هرچه قدر تواند بردارد

امير اول خيمه واتاقي ويک جغت سايبان بردارد واز اسلحه فراخور امارت خود آن مقدار برد که تواند بديکران مدد نمايد

وهمچنين

Ouyemauk Ameers † an Eurghee ‡ ſhould be granted ; Book II.
and that to each of the four Beglerbegs a ſtandard, and a Niccaureh, and a Cher Toghe, and an Eurghee ſhould be allowed.

And I ordained that every Ameer who vanquiſhed an army, or who conquered a country, if he were a firſt Ameer, that he ſhould be exalted to the rank of ſecond Ameer ; and if he were a ſecond Ameer, that he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of third Ameer ; and if he were a third Ameer, that he ſhould be exalted to the dignity of fourth Ameer : and thus up to the eleventh Ameer. For if he were eleventh Ameer, I commanded that he ſhould be appointed twelfth Ameer ; and that the ſtandard, and the Toghe and the Niccaureh ſhould be conferred upon him.

Thus I ordained that one Toghe ſhould be allowed to the firſt Ameer, and two to the ſecono, and three to the third, and to the fourth Ameer four Toghes, and the Niccaureh : that by their valour and their conduct they might acquire to themſelves the dignity of the Toumaun Toghe and the Cher Toghe.

Regulations concerning the arms and the necessaries of the soldiers.

For the private ſoldiers I ordained, that on an expedition every eighteen men ſhould take one

† Chiefs of tribes. ‡ *Eurghee* is Mogul, and the particular ſignification unknown ; but it evidently means ſome mark of diſtinction.

tent ;

اويماق يرغوي* ارزاني دارند وبچهار بيكلر بيكي هريك علم ونقاره وچر طوغ ويرغوي بدهند

وهريك از امرا كه فوج شكني نمايند يا ملكي مسخر سازند اگر امير اول باشد امير دويم سازند واگر امير دويم باشد بمرتبه امير سيوم رسانند واگر امير سيوم باشد بمرتبه امير چهارم رسانند همچنين تا يازدهم كه اگر امير يازدهم باشد امير دوازدهم گردانند وعلم وطوغ ونقاره بدهند

چنانچه بامير اول يك طوغ وبامير دوم دو وسيوم سه وبامير چهارم چهار طوغ ونقاره بدهند تا آنكه خودرا بمرتبه تومان طوغ وچر طوغ رسانند

تزوك سامان وسر انجام سپاه

امر نمودم كه ساير سپاه در يساقها هژده نفر يك خيمه بردارند وهريك نفر دو

appointed him to the dominion of the principality of Kunduz and Goulaub. Book II.

AND I ordained, whoever of my Ameers ſubdued and wreſted a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the ſpace of three years the vicegerency of that kingdom ſhould be conferred upon him as a reward.

AND I commanded that the ſelect ſoldier who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in battle, ſhould be rewarded with a Kullung, † or embroidered Autaukeh, † with a horſe, and with a ſword, and with a Kummur; ‡ and that he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of an Ounbauſhee: ſo that for the ſecond, and the third atchievement he might riſe to the ſtations of Euzbauſhee, and of Mingbauſhee.

REGULATIONS FOR CONFERRING THE HONOURS OF THE NICCAUREH AND THE STANDARD.

I ordained that one ſtandard, and one Niccaureh ſhould be conferred on each of the twelve ſelect Ameers; and that the ſtandard, and the Niccaureh, and the Toumaun Toghe, and the Cher Toghe, ‖ ſhould be granted to the Ameer ul Omrau:

AND that a Toghe, and a Nuffeer § ſhould be allowed to the Mingbauſhee Ameer, and a drum to the Euzbauſhee and Ounbauſhee Ameers; and that to the

ſpears, with certain figures on the ſummit, marking the rank and dignity of thoſe to whom they belong.

§ A ſort of trumpet.

شکست داده بود وبرا والي مملکت قندز وکولاب
کردانیدم

وامر نمودم که هریک از امرا که
مملکتي را مسخر کردانیده از تصرف غنیم بر آورد
آن مملکت را تا سه سال بانعام وي مقرر دارند

وامر کردم که بهادري که شمشیر زند
کلنک* یا اتاقه* مرصع وکمر وشمشیر واسپ بجلدوي
وي ارزاني دارند وبمرتبه اون باشي امتیاز دهند تا
آنکه در شمشیر دویم وسیوم بمرتبه یوز باشي ومینک
باشي برسد

## تزوک عطاي طبل وعلم

امر نمودم که بهریک از امراي دوازدهکانه
یک علم ونقاره بدهند وبامیر الامرا علم ونقاره
وتومان طوغ وچر طوغ ارزاني دارند
ومینک باشي را طوغي ونفیري بدهند
ویوز باشي واون باشي را طبل بدهند وبه امراي

† These words are Mogul, and their significations unknown.
‡ A belt, or girdle.
‖ The Toumaun Toghe and Cher Toghe are also a sort of standards or spears,

اویماق

Book II.

THUS, in an engagement with Touktummiſh Khaun, Taubaun Bahaudur penetrated to the ſtandard-bearer of that prince, and inverted the ſtandard; and he was wounded in many places. And his enemies and the enviers of his renown ſought to bury his valour in oblivion: but it was not conſiſtent with my juſtice that I ſhould ſhut my eyes to the merits of Taubaun. And I exalted him to a government; and I received him into my favour; and I conferred upon him the ſtandard of honour.

AND I ordained, if an Ounbauſhee, or an Euzbauſhee, or a Mingbauſhee Ameer ſhould vanquiſh the forces of an enemy; that in reward to an Ounbauſhee the government of a city ſhould be given; and that the reward of an Euzbauſhee ſhould be the command of a province.

THUS, to Burlaus Bahaudur, who was an Euzbauſhee, and who in the war with Touktummiſh Khaun engaged his enemy and defeated the army of the foe, I gave the command of the province of Hiſſaur Shaudumaun.

AND I ordained, when a Mingbauſhee defeated the forces of his antagoniſt, that he ſhould be appointed the lord of a principality. Thus, when Mahummud Auzaud, in the war of Kuttour, vanquiſhed the Seah poſhaun, † who had defeated Burhaun Aghlaun, I

† *Wearers of black*; ſo named from the colour of their habits. They inhabited the mountains ſouth of Buddukhſhaun.

چنانچه تابان بهادر خودرا در جنک
توقتمش خان بعلمدار رسانید وعلم ویرا نکون ساخت
وزخمها برداشت مدعیان وحاسدان وي خواستند که
کار ویرا بپوشند از انصاف من نکنجید که از
کار وي چشم پوشم وبوي امارت دادم وتربیت کردم
وعلم بوي ارزانی داشتم

وامر نمودم که چون یکي از اون باشیان
ویوز باشیان ومینک باشیان فوج شکني نماید در
جلدوي* اون باشي حکومت شهري بدهند ودر جلدوي
یوز باشي حکومت مملکتي ارزاني دارند
چنانچه برلاس بهادر که یوز باشي
بود در جنک توقتمش خان به غنیم خود رو بر رو
شد وفوج غنیم را شکست داد حکومت مملکت حصار
شادمان را بوي مقرر داشتم
وامر نمودم که چون مینک باشي
فوج غنیم خود را شکست دهد ویرا والي مملکت
کردانند چنانچه محمد ازاد در جنک کتور جماعه
سپاه پوشانرا که برهان اغلان را هزیمت داده بودند
شکست

And Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he faſtened the chain, and he cloathed himſelf in the female attire. And he called the Ameers and the chiefs of the ſoldiers together, and, thus habited, he gave public audience to his people. And when the chiefs and the forces beheld the ſituation of Behraum, they uttered revilings againſt their prince, and they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz.

And under the banners of Behraum Joubeen, they proceeded to the palace of the King; and they deprived him of his regal authority; and they ſeated Khiſſuro Purvaze upon the throne of the Perſian empire.

Having acquired this experience, that I might not draw upon me the revilings of my people, I ordered Eekoo Timour to appear before me; and I ſeated myſelf on my throne in the midſt of my chiefs; and I gave admiſſion to the people at large. And I commanded the wealth and the effects which had been taken from the tribe of Auroos Khaun to be brought forth; and I conferred the whole of the ſpoils on Ameer Eekoo Timour, and on the warriors and the ſoldiers who had fought under his command.

And I ordained that every Ameer who acted with firmneſs in the day of battle, and defeated the enemy oppoſed unto him, ſhould be promoted to a ſuperior ſtation.

Thus,

وبهرام طوق در گردن وزنجیر در پاء کرده
لباس زنان پوشید وامرا وسران سپاه را طلب نموده
دربار عام داد وچون سرداران وسایر سپاه این حال
مشاهده نمودند هرمز را مطعون داشته دل خودهارا از
اخلاص هرمز برداشتند
وباتفاق بهرام جوبین بدرگاه هرمز آمده
ویرا از سلطنت خلع نمودند وخسرو پرویزرا بر تخت
سلطنت مملکت عجم نشانیدند

چون این تجربه برداشته بودم بجهت
این که مطعون سپاه نکردم امیر ایکو تیمور را طلب
داشته مجلس آراستم وبار عام دادم واموال واشیایی
که از الوس اروس خان غنیمت شده بود همه را جمع
آورده بامیر ایکو تیمور ودیکر بهادران وسپاهیاني که
همراه وي شمشیرها زده بودند انعام فرمودم

وامر نمودم که هر امیري که در هنکام
جنک خودرا نکاهدارد وفوج مقابل خودرا بشکنند در
مرتبه اش بیفزایند

چنانچه

And my affections were turned aside from Eekoo Timour by their insinuations: but I had heard the history of Behraum Joubeen, and from thence I had acquired experience.

For when the Khaukaun advanced against Hurmuz, the son of Nousharevaun, with an army of three hundred thousand sanguinary Toorks; that prince sent forth Behraum Joubeen (who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general of his father) with three hundred and twenty thousand Persians to oppose him. And he engaged that prince; and for three days, and for three nights, the slaughter continued with great fury; till at length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatched intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz: and he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken.

And the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, "Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy; and he hath seized to himself the sword, and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun (ornamented and adorned with jewels of price)."

And Hurmuz, from a mean and contemptible avarice, forgot the services of Behraum; and he credited the accusations of the slanderous and self-interested, and pronounced him a traitor and a criminal; and, *in token of his anger and contempt*, sent a chain unto him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.

And

خود متصرف شده وازین سخنان مزاج مرا از وي منحرف ساختند لیکن قصه بهرام جوبین که بمسامع من رسیده بود بتجربه برداشته بودم

که چون خاقان سیصد هزار ترک خونخوار بر هرمز بن نوشروان لشکر کشید ووي بهرام جوبین را که وزیر ومشیر وسپه سالار نوشروان بود با سیصد بیست هزار مرد ایراني رو بر رو خاقان فرستاد ووي در مقابله خاقان در آمد وسه شبان روز در قتال وجدال بود تا آنکه خاقانرا شکست داد وحقیقت را بهرمز عرضه داشت نمود وغنایمي که بدست آورده بود بخدمت هرمز فرستاد

وحاسدان وغمازان که در مجلس هرمز راه سخن داشتند غمازي نموده کفتند که بهرام مبلغهاي کلي در میان نکاهداشت وشمشیر وکلاه مرصع وموزه مکلل به جواهر قیمتي خاقان را خود متصرف شده

وهرمز از خام طمعي کار وخدمت بهرام را پوشیده داشت وسخن اهل غرض وارباب افترا را راست دانست وویرا خاین وکنه کار ساخت واز براي وي معجري زنان وطوق وزنجیر فرستاد

ویهرام

REGULATIONS FOR ENCOURAGING MY AMEERS, AND MY VIZZEERS, AND MY SOLDIERS, AND MY SUBJECTS, BY REWARDS AND BY HONOURS.

I ordained that every Ameer who ſhould reduce a kingdom, or defeat an army, ſhould be exalted by three things, by a title of honour, by the ſtandard, and by the Niccaureh; † and that he ſhould be dignified with the appellation of Bahaudur; ‡ and that he ſhould be conſidered as the aſſociate of the royal power and dignity; and that he ſhould be admitted a member of my imperial council; and that the government of a frontier province ſhould be conferred upon him; and that Ameers ſhould be placed under his command. I alſo ordained that every Ameer who defeated a prince, or the ſon of a prince, or a Khaun, ſhould be exalted after the ſame manner.

THUS I rewarded Ameer Eekoo Timour; whom I had appointed to reduce Auroos Khaun. He conquered that prince; and I conferred upon him a Toumaun, || the ſtandard, the military enſign, and the Niccaureh; I made him the aſſociate of my fortune; and I appointed him my Vizzeer and my adviſer; and I gave him a place in my imperial council; and I conferred upon him the government of a frontier province; and I placed Ameers under his command.

AND the envious uttered inſinuations againſt him, that he had plundered the hord of Auroos Khaun, and that he had taken the ſpoils to himſelf.

‡ The Brave.
|| The command of 10,000 men.

 And

## تزک تربیت کردن امرا ووزرا وسپاه ورعیت بانعام وجلدو*

امر کردم که هر امیري که ملکي را مسخر کرداند یا لشکري را شکست دهد ویرا بسه چیز امتیاز دهند بخطاب وطوغ ونغاره وویرا بهادر لقب کنند وشریک دولت وسلطنت دانند ودر مجلس کنکاش داخل سازند وولایت سرحد بوي حواله نمایند وامرا را تابع وي کردانند وهر امیري که توره را بشکند یا امیر زاده را شکست دهد یا خاني را منهزم اورا بهمان روش بنوازند

چنانچه امیر ایکو تیمور را که بر اروس خان تعین نمودم وویرا شکست داد بوي تومان وطوغ وعلم ونغاره دادم وویرا شریک دولت خود ساختم ووزیر ومشیر خود کردانیدم ودر کنکاش خود داخل کردانیده سرحد ارزاني داشتم وامرا را بوي تابع کردانیدم

وحاسدان در حق وي سخنان کفتند که الوس اورس خان را غارت کرده واموال واسباب را

† A kind of kettle-drum.

خود

THUS alſo Munguli Booghau, in the war of Bullukh, advanced with an army againſt me; and before the engagement commenced, I ſent propoſals unto him, and endeavoured to draw him over to my ſide. But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he formed his troops in order of battle, and he charged my forces with undaunted reſolution, and he was defeated. Book II.

AND when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, and kneeled to my authority, I raiſed him to an exalted ſtation, and I included him in the number of my moſt favoured ſervants; and on all occaſions I praiſed and applauded his conduct. And ſuch were the favours which I conferred upon him, that if any reſentment remained in his heart, it was totally obliterated.

AS he was a bold and intrepid warrior, he ſignalized himſelf in my ſervice, and conferred obligations upon me. And in the war of Azzurbauejaun, when I encountered Kurrau Euſoof, in the moment that my troops were diſcouraged and thrown into confuſion, he placed upon the point of his ſpear the head of an hoſtile commander; and he named it the head of Kurrau Euſoof, and called aloud to my forces, that Kurrau Euſoof was ſlain; and he gave courage to my ſoldiers. And he ruſhed on the centre of Kurrau Euſoof's line, and drove him from the field. And this victory over Kurrau Euſoof I imputed to Munguli Booghau; and I exalted him to a ſuperior rank.

ومنكلي بوغا در جنك بلخ بر من لشكر
كشيد ومن پيش از جنك بوي پيغام داده خواستم
بطرف خود بكشم وي نمك تغلقتيمور خان را فراموش
نكرد ولشكر آراي كرده با من جنك مرداني كرد
وهزيمت يافت

وروزي كه از روي اختيار بمن التجا
آورد وزانو زد پايه قدر ومرتبه ويرا بلند ساختم ومشمول
عنايت خود كردانيدم وچندان عنايت كردم كه انچه
در خاطر داشت فراموش كرد وويرا در هر مجلس
آفرين ورحمت باد ميكفتم

چون مردي بود مردانه در دولت من
كارهاء مردانه نمايان كرد ومارا ممنون ساخت ودر
جنك اذربايجان كه با قرا يوسف مقابله اتفاق افتاد
وقتي كه سپاه من مضطرب شده بودند وي سري از
سرهاي سران لشكر قرا يوسف را بر سر نيزه كرده بلند
ساخت وسر قرا يوسف نام نهاد ودر لشكر در داد كه
قرا يوسف كشته شده ولشكررا دل داد وبر قلب فوج
قرا يوسف هجوم آورد وقرا يوسف را هزيمت داد ومن
فتح قرا يوسف را بنام وي نوشتم وبر مراتبش افزودم

تزك

kingdom, or diſtinguiſhed his valour in the hour of battle; that his claims ſhould be regarded, and that the price of his ſervices ſhould be paid unto him : Book II.

AND that the aged warriors ſhould be treated with honour and attention ; and that their counſel and opinion ſhould be heard (for that which they ſay, muſt proceed from experience) and that they ſhould be conſidered as the ornaments of my empire ; and that on their demiſe, their ſons ſhould ſucceed to their ſtations and dignities.

I ordained that the hoſtile ſoldier taken in battle ſhould not be put to death ; and that military ſervice and freedom ſhould be offered to his choice ; that if he conſented to enter into my ſervice, he ſhould be received ; if not, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty. In this manner I once gave freedom to 4000 Roomi. †

I ordered that every ſoldier who had performed his duty, and fought with valour on the ſide of my enemy, if, from choice or neceſſity, he ſought ſhelter under my authority, that he ſhould be received with confidence, and treated with honour and regard : ſince he had performed his duty, and acted with fidelity to his former maſter.

THUS I rewarded Share Behraum ; who in an action with Ameer Hooſſein oppoſed me face to face, and fought with aſtoniſhing valour : when through neceſſity he fled to me for protection, I received him with honour.

† Turks.

THUS

ولشکري را شکست داده يا ملکي را مسخر نموده يا شمشيري زده باشد حق خدمت ويرا منظور دارند وحق ويرا ادا نمايند

وپيران سپاهرا بعزت بدارند وسخنان از ايشان بشنوند که انچه ايشان بگويند از تجربه خواهد بود وايشانرا مصالح کارخانه سلطنت دانند بعد از ايشان فرزندان ايشان را قايم مقام ايشان نمايند

وامر نمودم که هر سپاهي از جانب غنيم گرفتار کرده ويرا نکشند ومختار گردانند اگر نوکري قبول کند نوکر سازند والا آزاد گردانند چنانچه من چهار هزار رومي را آزاد کردم

وهر سپاه که از جانب غنيم شمشير زند وحق نمک بجاي آورد خواه از روي اختيار خواه از روي اضطرار اگر التجا بدرگاه من آورد بروي اعتماد نمايند وعزيز دارند که وفاداري بصاحب خود کرده وحق نمک بجاي آورده

چنانچه من به شير بهرام کردم که وي در جنگ امير حسين بمن در جنگ رو بر رو شد وشمشيرها نمايان زد چون از روي اضطرار بمن پناه آورد ويرا احترام کردم

ومنکلي

To every ſoldier who turned his back in the hour of action, I ordered that Koorniſh † ſhould not be given; and that if he fled from abſolute neceſſity, he ſhould be pardoned; and that if he ſhould be ſtruck with a panic, and fly in conſequence thereof, that he ſhould be pardoned alſo; ‡ and that to every ſoldier, who ſhould fight with reſolution, and be wounded in action, a compenſation ſhould be given; and that if he ſhould be wounded in battle, and then retire from the field, his conduct ſhould be applauded. The wound which he had received ſhould be conſidered as a proof, that if he reached not to the enemy, yet the arm of the enemy extended unto him: his wound ſhould be a witneſs in his favour.

I ordained that the right of the warrior ſhould not be injured; and that the ſoldier who had grown in years ſhould not be deprived of his ſtation or his wages; and that the actions of the ſoldier ſhould not be ſuppreſſed: for thoſe men who ſell their permanent happineſs for periſhable honour, merit compenſation, and are worthy of reward and encouragement. If a ſoldier ſhould be deprived of his reward, and his actions ſhould be hidden from the light, it would be an act of injuſtice.

I ordained that every chief, miniſter, and ſoldier, who by his ſervices had eſtabliſhed a claim on my fortune; who had defeated an army, or reduced a

‡ The Mogul word is *Bauwulli*, and the ſenſe is doubtful.

king-

وهر سپاهي كه در وقت كار روي
گرداند ويرا كورنش ندهند واگر مضطر شده روي
گردان شده باشد معذورش دارند واگر واهمه بر
وي غلبه كرده باشد ويرا باولي* بدهند وهر سپاهي
كه شمشير زند وزخم بردارد ويرا جلدو* بدهند واگر
زخم برداشته رو گردان شده باشد ويرا تحسين
نهايند وزخم خوردن ويرا اعتبار كنند كه اگر وي به
غنيم نرسيده باشد اما غنيم بوي رسيده وزخم وي
گواه حال وي باشد

وحق سپاهي را ضايع نسازند وهر سپاهي
كه به پيري رسد ويرا از علوفه ومرتبه محروم ومعزول
نگردانند وكار سپاه را پوشيده ندارند ومردم سپاهي
كه حيات باقي خودرا بمال فاني ميفروشند مستحق
جلدو* باشند ولايق انعام وتربيت اگر ويرا از انعام
محروم سازند وكارش را پوشيده دارند بي انصافي
كرده باشند

وامر نمودم كه هر اميري ووزيري وسپاهي
كه حق خدمت بر دولت من ثابت كرده باشد

† This word is Mogul, and the meaning unknown.

ولشكري

REGULATIONS OF PROMOTIONS AND REWARDS TO MY SOLDIERS FROM THE MEANEST TO THE MOST EXALTED.

I ordained, if any one of my ſelect ſoldiers diſtinguiſhed himſelf in battle, that in recompence for the firſt exploit he ſhould be made an Ounbauſhee, and for the ſecond exploit an Euzbauſhee, and for the third exploit a Mingbauſhee; and that the Taubeenaun † of the Ounbauſhee ſhould for the firſt exploit be raiſed to the rank of Ounbauſhee.

I ordained alſo, that an atchievement which ſprung from attention to perſonal ſafety in the moment of peril, ſhould not be regarded: for the ox will ſometimes ſtrike with his horns, and turn upon his purſuers. Therefore the firmneſs and the ſpirit of the ſoldier muſt alſo be conſidered.

I commanded, when a Mingbauſhee vanquiſhed the forces of his antagoniſt by the edge of the ſword, that he ſhould be raiſed to the rank of firſt Ameer: and that the firſt Ameer, on defeating the army of his foe, ſhould be appointed ſecond Ameer: and thus, that every Ameer who ſignalized his valour and abilities, and overthrew the forces of his enemy, ſhould be promoted from his own to a ſuperior ſtation: and that the private ſoldiers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle, ſhould be rewarded by an increaſe of pay.

† i.e. The inferior to the Ounbauſhee.

تزک تربیت سپاه از مرتبهٔ ادنی تا بمرتبهٔ اعلی

امر نمودم که از بهادرانیکه که شمشیر نمایان زده باشد در شمشیر اول اون باشی نمایند ودر شمشیر دوم یوز باشی کنند ودر شمشیر سیوم مینک باشی سازند وتابینان اون باشی را در شمشیر اول اون باشی گردانند

وامر نمودم که شمشیر حفظ را منظور ندارند که گاو هم شاخ میزنند پس نظر بر اصالت ونجابت سپاهی هم باید کرد

ومینک باشی چون بضرب شمشیر فوجی را بشکنند امیر اول گردانند وامیر اول چون صف شکنی نماید امیر دوم سازند وهمچنین هر امیری که کار نمایان کرده فوج شکنی کند از مرتبه وی بالاتر ترقی فرمایند وسایر سپاه چون شمشیر بزنند علوفه ایشان بیفزایند

وهر

the third; thus alſo the eleventh Ameer the deputy of the twelfth Ameer, and the twelfth Ameer the deputy of the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Ameer ul Omrau my deputy: that if an accident ſhould happen, the one might ſupply the place of another. Book II.

I alſo commanded that from amongſt theſe three hundred and thirteen Ameers, a hundred ſhould be ſtiled Ounbauſhees, that one other hundred ſhould be called Euzbauſhees, and that the third hundred ſhould be ſtiled Mingbauſhees.

And I ordained that in times of ſervice the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould iſſue orders to the Ameers, and the Mingbauſhees, and the Euzbauſhees, and the Ounbauſhees: and that the duty of the Ounbauſhee ſhould not be impoſed on the Euzbauſhee; and in the like manner that the duty of the Euzbauſhee ſhould not be impoſed on the Mingbauſhee; nor the duty of the Mingbauſhee on the Ameer; nor the duty of the Ameer on the Ameer ul Omrau:

And that on ſuch ſervice as might be executed by an Ounbauſhee, an Euzbauſhee ſhould not be ordered; and that a Mingbauſhee ſhould not be ſent on a ſervice which could be performed by an Euzbauſhee:

And that every one of the Ameers, who, from a ſpirit of enterpriſe, demanded employment, that his requeſt ſhould be granted.

دوم نایب سیوم همچنین امیر یازدهم را نایب امیر دوازدهم ساختم وامیر دوازدهم نایب امیر الامرا باشد وامیر الامرا نایب من باشد تا اکر قضیه پیش آید نایب قایم مقام وي کردد

واز جمله سیصد وسیزده مرد امر نمودم که صد مردرا اون باشي نمایند وصد کس را یوز باشي وصد کس را مینک باشي

وامر کردم که در وقت چار وپلچار* امیر الامرا بامرا ومینک باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان خبر رسانند وکار اون باشي را به یوز باشي نفرمایند همچنین کار یوز باشي را به مینک باشي وکار مینک باشي را بامیر وکار امیر را بامیر الامرا نفرمایند

ومهمي که باون باشي بانجام رسد به یوز باشي محتاج نشوند وهمچنین کاري که از یوز باشي بر آید بمینک باشي محتاج نکردانند

وهریک از امرا که از روي رغبت کار طلب باشد بوي بفرمایند

تزک

He is capable of filling the ſtation of chief of the Omraus, who is worthy of being my lieutenant in peace and in war; who can rule the armies with majeſty and with authority; and who hath the vigour to chaſtize thoſe who riſe in oppoſition to his commands.

I commanded, that of the fore-going three hundred and thirteen Ameers, four ſhould be appointed Beglerbegs; † and that one ſhould be exalted to the dignity of Ameer ul Omrau: whoſe authority ſhould be over the Ameers and the army, in the field and in action; and who in my preſence ſhould act as my deputy.

Twelve other persons, men of reputation and renown, I exalted to high commands, according to this order.

To the firſt Ameer I gave in charge a thouſand men, and appointed him commander over them. And to the ſecond Ameer I gave the command of two thouſand men; and appointed him their chief. And, in the ſame manner, to the third, and the fourth, and the fifth Ameer I gave the command of three, and four, and five thouſand men: and thus from the ſixth to the twelfth Ameer, from ſix thouſand up to twelve thouſand. And each, according to his rank, I appointed the deputy and repreſentative of his ſuperior.

Thus I appointed the firſt Ameer the deputy of the ſecond, and the ſecond Ameer the deputy of

† i. e. Generals or commanders of the firſt rank.

وامیر الامرا او تواند بود که در بزم ورزم نایب وقـایم مقام من باشد وبشوکت ومهابت تواند که لشکریرا کار فرماید وهرکس را که مخالفت وي کند تواند که سیاست نماید

وامر نمودم که از جمله سیصد وسیزده نفر چهار کس بـیکلر بیکي باشند ویک نفر امیر الامراء مقرر باشد که حکم وي در یساقها وجنکها بـر امرا وسایر سپاه جاري باشد ووي در حضور من نایب من بـاشـد

دوازده مرد دیـکـررا که صاحب غیرت وناموس بودند بدین ترتیب امارت دادم

امیر اول را امارت هزار کس داده بـر ایشان امیر کردانیدم وامیر دوم را امارت دو هزار کس دادم وبر آن دو هـزار کس امیـر ساختم همچنین امیر سیوم وچهارم وپنجم را بر سه هـزار چهار هـزار پنج هزار کس امیر کردانیدم تا دوازده امیر بهمین ترتیب بر شش هـزار کس تا دوازده هـزار کس امیر ساخـتم وهریک را بترتیب امارت نایب دیکري مقرر نمودم

چنانچه امیر اول نایب امیر دوم وامیر

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS.

I commanded that three hundred and thirteen persons from among my chosen and superior servants should be advanced to exalted dignities. And those were men who were renowned for their high lineage, and for nobleness of mind, and for understanding, and for penetration, and for resolution, and for intrepidity, and for skill, and for vigilance, and for caution, and for foresight, and for deep reflection.

AND to each of them I appointed another person, who on the death of the first should succeed to his rank and dignity; and him I entitled AN EXPECTER OF PREFERMENT.

AND these three hundred and thirteen Ameers were men of judgement and of knowledge; and they were learned in the arts of peace and of war; and they were skilled in the evolutions of armies, and in breaking the lines of the enemy.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he only is equal to stations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hostile armies; who in the hour of battle giveth not his heart forth from his hand, nor permitteth apprehension and terror to take possession of his soul; who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confusion, can by his abilities restore them to order.

تـزوک مرتبه امارت وايالت

امـر نمودم که به سيصد وسيزده مرد که نوکران خاص الخـاص من بـودند امارت بدهـند واين مردم بودند که باصالت ونجابت وعقل وکياست وتهور وشجاعت وتدبير وحزم واحتياط ودور بيني وعاقبت انديشي موصوف بودند

واز براي هريک کوتل* تعين کردم اکر يکي از ايشان را موت وفوت پـيـش آيد آن کوتل جانشين وي باشد وآن کوتل را منـتـظر الامارت نام نـهـادم

واين سيصد وسيـزده امير من صاحبان عقل وهوش وبـزم ورزم وصف آراي ولشکر شـکـنـي بـودند

وبتجـربـه من رسيده که لايـق امارت وايالت مردي تواند بود که رموز جنک وشيوه شکست دادن غنيم را در يابد ووقت جنک دل از دست ندهد ودست وپا کم نکند وافـواج را کار بفرمايد واکر در صفوف لشکر رخنه بظهور رسد آن رخنه را تواند بربـسـت

وامير

f the affairs of empire be involved in confusion, can reluce them to order by the hand of understanding and 'eflection.

Thus at the time that Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni seized on my person, and confined me in a loathsome dungeon, filled with vermin; Aazeez u deen, who was one of my Vizzeers, came to me from Turmuz with speed; and lulling to sleep the attention of Aali Beg, and hiding his eyes from his prisoner, he gave such vigour to my hopes, that with the arm of fortitude and resolution, and by the edge of the sword, I extricated myself from the guards which were stationed over me, and recovered my freedom. In the like manner Nizzaum ul Moolluk delivered Mullick Shaah from the hands of Keesur.

Let therefore such a minister be accounted the companion of the imperial fortune; let him be treated with kindness and affection, and let not his counsels be disregarded: for that which he sayeth, proceedeth from wisdom and understanding.

If a king be oppressive, and his Vizzeer be just, the oppressions of the king are moderated and rectified by the justice of the Vizzeer; but if the Vizzeer be oppressive, the affairs of that government shall be speedily involved in confusion.

بستكي در امور سلطنت بهم رسد آنرا بسر انكشت عقل وفكر بكشايد

چنانچه در وقتي كه علي بيك چون غرباني مرا در بند انداخت ودر خانه پر از كيك مقيد ساخت عزيز الدين كه از وزراي من بود از ترمذ ايلغار كرده خودرا بمن رسانيد وعلي بيك را در خواب كرد وچشم ويرا از من پوشانيد ومرا قوت داد تا ببازوي شجاعت ومردي بضرب شمشير از ميان نكاهبانان بر آمده نجات يافتم چنانچه نظام الملك سلطان ملكشاه را از بند قيصر خلاص ساخت

پس اين چنين وزيري را شريك دولت دانند وعزيز دارند واز كفتار او تجاوز ننمايند كه انچه كويد همه از روي عقل باشد

اكر پادشاه ظالم باشد ووزيرش عادل بود تدارك ظلم پادشاه ميشود ليكن اكر وزير ظالم باشد زود باشد كه سلسله امور سلطنت بر هم خورد

تزوك

saying, "I would have sought the service of princes; "that I might have been able to do good to the servants "of my Creator." Book II.

And it was on this account that I consented to accept the employments of minister and general from Ouleaus Khaujeh, the son of Tughulluk Timour Khaun; that I might succour and support the people. And from the assistance and protection which I afforded to his servants, it may have come to pass that Almighty God hath exalted me to the throne of empire.

And if a minister by skilful measures, or by the sword, conquereth or saveth a kingdom, let him be held in honour and respect; and let him be exalted and stiled, The lord of the sword and the pen.

A skilful and able minister is that minister, who, when necessary, can by his counsels and abilities disperse and divide the power of armies; and who, when occasion calleth, can by well-adapted and skilful measures unite them together; who hath the capacity to sow divisions among the forces of the enemy, and to make them subservient to his views, and to be the conservator of his prince and master; who can, by his sagacity, and wisdom, and foresight resolve and render easy the momentous concerns and difficulties which surround a king; and who,

 if

اشتغال میفرمودید فرمودند که خدمت سلاطین اختیار میکردم تا بخلق خدا نفع رسانم

از این جهت بود که وزارت وسپهسالاري الیاس خواجه پسر تغلقتیمور خان را قبول کرده بودم که امداد خلق نمایم واز مددکاري خلق خدا بود که الله تعالي مرا بمرتبه سلطنت رسانید

ووزیري که بتدبیر وشمشیر ملکي را مسخر سازد یا نگاهداري ملک نماید آن وزیر را عزیز ومحترم دارند وبر مراتبش بیفزایند ووبرا صاحب السیف والقلم خطاب دهند

ووزیر خردمند وهوشمند وزیري باشد که براي وتدبیر لشکریرا متفرق سازد وبسازکاري وخوش سلوک لشکریرا متفق گرداند وافواج دشمن را بخود رام کند ونگاهبان ولي نعمت خود باشد وهر مهمي ومشکلي که پادشاه را پیش آید به راي وتدبیر ودور بیني آن مشکل را آسان گرداند اگر بستگي

A VIRTUOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, whoſe good qualities predominate over his failings. Book II.

THUS I have heard, that the failings of Nizzaum ul Moolluk were vanquiſhed by his virtues. At that time when he reſolved to perform the holy pilgrimage, one of the men of God ſaid unto him; "Thy "good actions which ſhine forth in the glory and the "power of Mullick Shaah, and the bleſſings which the "people of the Almighty receive from thy hands, are "equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and of ſanctity."

AND it has alſo been related unto me, that on the day when Aali Ben Luckti, who was the miniſter of Hauroon ul Ruſheed, determined to retire from the Vizzaurut; as his adminiſtration had been favourable to the people of God, one of the holy prieſts wrote to him, ſaying, "Thou ſhalt continue to execute thy office in the "palace of the Khalif; thou ſhalt not relinquiſh thy au- "thority: for the comforts and the benefits which thou "conferreſt on the ſervants of the Almighty, are ſuperior "to all the good and glorious actions of thy life."

AND ſo alſo I have heard, that when it was demanded of the holy prophet, (on whom be the protection of God) "If thou hadſt not been ſent forth "the meſſenger and prophet of the Almighty, what oc- "cupation wouldeſt thou have choſen?" He anſwered, ſaying,

ووزیر نیکو محضر وزیری باشد که اعمال
خیرش غالب بر افعال شر وي بود
چنین بمسامع من رسید که افعال
ذمیمه نظام الملک مغلوب اعمال خیرش بوده در آن
وقتي که وي اراده حج کرد یکي از رجال الله
بوي گفت همین عمل خیري که در دولت ملکشاه
از تو صادر میشود که بندهاي خدا از تو نفع مي
بینند برابر حج است

وبعرض من رسید که علي بن لغطي
که وزیر هارون الرشید بود چون نفع وي بخلق
خدا بسیار میرسید روزي که ارادهٔ ترک وزارت نمود
یکي از ایمه دین بوي نوشت که ترا است که بر
درگاه خلیفه ملازم امر وزارت باشي وجدايء اختیار
نکني که امداد ونفعي که به بندگان خدا میرساني
سر آمد جمیع اعمال وافعال حسنه تو باشد

وچنین شنیدم که چون از حضرت
رسول صلي الله علیه وسلم سوال کردند که اگر
شما به نبوت ورسالت مبعوث نمي شدید بکدام کار
اشتغال

of his ſoul. If he be malignant, and harbour revenge, he muſt be watched with care and with caution; leſt he enter into confederacies with the enemies of the imperial power, and involve in confuſion the revenues and the army of his prince. Book II.

AN INTELLIGENT AND SAGACIOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who ſupporteth the ſubject with one hand, and with the other hand holdeth up the ſoldier; who receiveth not whence it ſhould not be received; and who giveth not where it ſhould not be given; who letteth not vigilance and circumſpection forth from his hand; who acteth with uprightneſs and integrity; who looketh forward to the concluſion and conſequences of every tranſaction; and who in negotiating the affairs of the empire ſeeth not his enemy before him.

THAT MINISTER IS AN EXPERIENCED AND ACTIVE MINISTER, who keepeth in his eye the cultivation and population of the country, and the proſperity of the ſubjects, and the ſtrength of the army, and the fulneſs of the treaſury; who exerteth himſelf in promoting thoſe meaſures which are profitable to government, and hazardeth his fortune and his life in counteracting thoſe, from which evil may follow to the imperial dignity; and who directeth the concerns of the ſoldier and the ſubject with prudence and deliberation.

A vir-

دل خود راه ندهد اگر کینه دار ومنافق باشد از وي پر حذر باید بود که مبادا بدشمنان دولت سازکاري نماید وخزانه ولشکر را مختل کرداند

وزیر عاقل وزیري باشد که رعیت را بیک دست کیرد وسپاه را بیک دست واز جايء که نباید کرفت نکیرد وبجايء که نباید داد ندهد وحزم واحتیاط را از دست ندهد وبراستي ودرستي معامله نماید ونظر بر عواقب امور کند ودر هنکامه رتق وفتق معاملات خصم را در مقابلهء خود نه بیند

وزیر کاردان کارکذار وزیري باشد که معموري مملکت ورفاهت رعیت وجمعیت سپاه وتوفیر خزانه را در نظر داشته باشد واموري که به دولت سلطنت نفع رساند در تمشیت آن سعي نماید واموري که بسلطنت ضرر رساند در دفع آن بمال وجان ساعي باشد ومهمات سپاه ورعیت را بر وجه خیر وصلاح فیصل دهد

ووزیر

AND if the minifter tranfacteth the important concerns of empire by villainy and artifice, it fhall fpeedily happen that the power and profperity of that empire fhall pafs away. Book II.

THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who in his conduct employeth both mildnefs and feverity; who is neither immoderately fevere, nor weakly compliant. For if he acteth with too much mildnefs and compliance, the avaricious and wordly-minded will opprefs and bear him down: and if his feverity be exceffive, the people will fly from before him, and at all times avoid his prefence.

THEREFORE THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who regulateth and giveth order to the edifice of royalty by a juft knowledge of mankind, and by an uniform and prudent conduct; who in the execution of his office acteth with patience and forbearance, and conducteth the affairs of government with mildnefs and with feverity.

LET fuch a Vizzeer be confidered as a friend and companion in the imperial dignity. For the dignity of empire is fupported by extenfive territories, by a rich treafury, and by numerous armies: and thefe three things fhall be obtained and fecured by a WISE MINISTER.

A PERFECT MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, in confequence of any harfhnefs that fhall be offered unto him, permitteth not revenge and enmity to take poffeffion

وزیری که از شرارت وبد نفسی
معاملات را انجام دهد زود باشد که خیر وبرکت از
آن سلطنت برخیزد

وزیر دانا وزیری باشد که بدرشتی
ونرمی کار کند نه بسیار درشت باشد ونه بسیار
نرم اگر بسیار نرمی بکار برد دنیا طلبان وطماعان
ویرا فرو برند اگر بسیار درشتی نماید از وی بگریزند
وبوی رجوع ننمایند
پس وزیر دانا وزیری باشد که کارخانه
سلطنت به حسن سلوک وفهمیدگی نظام وانتظام
دهد ودر امور سلطنت تحمل وبردباری بکار
برد ومعاملات را بدرشتی ونرمی فیصل دهد
واین قسم وزیری را شریک دولت دانند
چه دولت سلطنت بملک وخزانه ولشکر قایم باشد
واین هر سه بوزیر دانا اصلاح وانجام یابد
وزیر جامع الاخلاق وزیری باشد که
بواسطه نا ملایمه که بوی رسد کینه ونغاق را در
دل

who was adorned with every great and ſhining quality; and appointed an ignoble and worthleſs man in his place. By the ill conduct, viciouſneſs, and villainy of that miniſter the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned.

In this manner Al Kummi, who was noted for his malevolent and revengeful diſpoſition, was raiſed to the dignity of firſt miniſter by Maatuſſim Billau Ubbauſi. Influenced by the ſecret rancour which he harboured in his ſoul againſt the Khulleefeh, that wicked miniſter deceived his maſter with the language of treachery; and exciting the ambition of Hullaukoo Khaun, drew the powerful arms of that prince on the head of the unſuſpecting Khalif: he cauſed his perſon to be ſeized; and that befell the Khalif which did befall him.

Therefore the Vizzeer to be choſen is a man of illuſtrious deſcent, and of a noble heart, and of a virtuous diſpoſition, and of prudent conduct. The truly illuſtrious ſwerve not from their duty; but in the baſe and ignoble fidelity and good faith are not to be found.

And every Vizzeer who conducteth himſelf in his high ſtation with uprightneſs and integrity; who directeth the various departments of government with rectitude, and with fidelity, and with reſpect to the ſacred laws, let him be exalted to the higheſt dignities.

خودرا كه بجمع صفات حسنه آراسته بود معزول ساخته وسغله شريري را بجاي وي نصب كرد بشامت اعمال وشرارت وبد نفسي وي بناي سلطنتش روي بانهدام آورد

وهمچنين مغتصم بالله عباسي علقمي را كه بصفت حسد وكينه موصوف بود وزيرا خود ساخت بواسطه كينه كه از خليفه در خاطر داشت بسخنان منافقاني خليفه را بازي داد وهلاكو خان را ترغيب نموده بر سر خليفه آورد وويرا گرفتار ساخت ورسيد بخليفه انچه رسيد

پس وزيري را اختيار نمايد كه اصيل ونجيب ونيكذات ونيكو كار باشد كه اصل خطا نكند وبد اصل وفا ننمايد

وهر وزيري كه از راه سلامتي نفس وراستي بامر وزارت قيام نمايد وامور ملكي ومالي را از راه صواب وديانت وامانت پرداخت كند ويرا بمراتب عاليه رسانند

ووزيري

That miniſter ſhall be equal to his office, who ordereth and conducteth the affairs and concerns of the government, of land, and of property, with uprightneſs, and integrity, and moderation; who taketh not where it ſhould not be taken, and remitteth not where it ſhould not be remitted; who in his ordinances and prohibitions giveth proofs of lenity and of firmneſs; in whom hypocriſy and diſſimulation ſhall not appear; who ſpeaketh well of the ſoldier and of the ſubject; and who neither heareth nor ſayeth evil of another; who, if he diſcovereth bad deſigns in any one, ſhall ſo conduct himſelf towards him, that he ſhall turn back from his iniquitous intentions; and who ſhall do good to the man who doeth evil unto him, that he may return into the path of friendſhip.

Let the Vizzeer who heareth and ſayeth evil of others, who ſoweth contention, and who endeavoureth to ruin a good and virtuous man, from the malice which he beareth unto him, be expelled from his office.

The office of the Vizzaurut muſt not be conferred on the wicked, the envious, the revengeful, or the ſeditious: for the conſequence that ſhall follow from the adminiſtration of ſuch men, is the ſpeedy diſſolution of the imperial fortune and empire.

Thus it happened to Mullick Shaah Siljokee. He diſgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk, who

کامل الوزارت وزیري باشد که رتق وفتق معاملات وامور ملکي ومال را از روي نیکي ونیکذاتي وحسن سلوک صورت دهد واز جایي که نباید کرفت نکیرد وبجایي نباید داد ندهد ودر اوامر ونواهي اثار نجابت واصالت از وي ظاهر کردد ونفاق ودراندازي از وي ظاهر نشود ونام همه کس از سپاه ورعیت به نیکي برد وبدي هیچکس نکوید ونشنود واکر از کسي بدي دیده باشد چنان سلوک نماید که آن شخص از بدي خود باز آید وبد کننده خودرا نیکي کند تا بسوي وي باز کشت نماید

وهر وزیري که بد کوید وبد شنود ودراندازي بکند ومردم نیک را خواهد بواسطه بدی که بوي داشته باشد خراب سازد ویرا از وزارت معزول نماید

وبد ذاتان وحاسدان وکینه داران واشرار را وزارت ندهند چه اثاري که از وزارت اشرار وسفلکان مترتب کردد همین است که دولت وسلطنت زود روي بزوال آورد

چنانچه ملکشاه سلجوقي نظام الملک وزیر خودرا

Concerning other crimes, the breaking of teeth, and the putting out of eyes, and the ſlitting and cutting off the ears and noſe, and wine-drinking and adultery, I ordained that whoever ſhould be guilty of theſe, or other crimes, they ſhould be brought into the court of the eccleſiaſtical and civil judges: that the eccleſiaſtical magiſtrate ſhould decide on thoſe cauſes, which are determinable by the ſacred laws; and that thoſe which did not fall under his cognizance, ſhould be inveſtigated, and laid before me by the civil judge.

Concerning the appointment of ministers.

I ordained that in Vizzeers four qualities ſhould be particularly attended to: Firſt, firmneſs and generoſity: Secondly, underſtanding and ſagacity: Thirdly, the power of living in harmony with the ſoldiers and the ſubjects: Fourthly, patience under difficulties, and talents for the cultivation of peace and tranquillity:

That whoever was endowed with theſe four qualities ſhould be conſidered as equal to the office of Vizzeer; ſhould be made both miniſter and counſellor, and the reins of the concerns of the government, of the army, and the ſubjects be delivered over to his care; that preeminence ſhould be conferred upon him by four things, confidence, and eſteem, and diſcretionary power, and authority.

وباقي امور از دندان شکستن وچشم کور کردن وکوش بيني بريدن وشراب خوردن وزنا کردن اکر از کسی بوقوع آيد در ديوان قاضي اسلام وقاضي احداث اجلاس نموده انچه امور شرعي باشند قاضي اسلام در آنها حکم نمايد وانچه عرفي باشد قاضي احداث تحقيق کرده بعرض من رساند

تزوک نکاهداشت وزرا

امر نمودم در وزرا چهار صفت احتياط نمايند اول اصالت ونجابت دويم عقل وکياست سيوم سلوک ومعاش با سپاه ورعيت چهارم بردباري ومسالمت

هرکس باين چهار صفت موصوف باشد ويرا قابل مرتبه وزارت دانند ووزير ومشير سازند وعنان امور مملکت وسپاه ورعيت بوي سپارند آنکاه ويرا بچهار چيز امتياز بخشند اعتماد واعتبار واختيار واقتدار

کامل

honoured by the kindneſs of his prince, brought forth all that he had, and laid it at the feet of his lord; and thus preſerved both his influence and his honour. Book II.

AND I commanded that if any one of my ſoldiers, exceeding the limits preſcribed him, ſhould injure or oppreſs the weak and the helpleſs, he ſhould be delivered into the hands of the injured perſon, that he might retaliate upon him.

AND if the chiefs or the nobles of any tribe or people extorted from the induſtrious huſbandman his ſmall pittance, I commanded that a fine ſhould be levied on the guilty perſon in proportion to the degree of extortion, and to his ability to make retribution: and if the governor or ſuperintendant ſhould cruelly deſtroy the property of a ſubject, that he ſhould be brought to puniſhment: but I ordained that after conviction, if the guilty perſon was fined, in that caſe corporal puniſhment ſhould not be inflicted; and if corporal puniſhment was inflicted, I ordered that he ſhould not be fined.

ROBBERS and thieves, in whatever place they might be found, or by whomſoever detected, I commanded to be put to death.

AND I ordained, that, if any one ſeized by violence the property of another, the value of that property ſhould be taken from the oppreſſor, and be reſtored to the oppreſſed.

آورده پیشکش خان کرد وعزت واعتبار خودرا نکاهداشت

وسایر سپاه اکر از حد خود تجاوز نموده بر زیر دستي ستمي کنند ویرا بدست آن مظلوم بسپارند که داد خودرا از وي بکیرد

وکلانتران وکدخدایان اکر بر ریزه رعیت ظلمي کرده باشند فراخور ظلم وموافق استطاعت از وي جریمه کیرند حاکم وداروغه اکر از روي تعدي رعیت را خراب ساخته باشد ایشانرا جزا دهند وامر نمودم که بعد از ثبوت کناه اکر از کنه کار جریمه کیرند بشلاق سیاست نکنند واکر بشلاق سیاست کنند جریمه نکیرند

دزدرا امر نمودم در هر جا که باشد وهرکس بیابد بسیاسا رسانند

وهر کس مال کسي را بتعدي کرفته باشد مال آن مظلوم را از ظالم کرفته بصاحب مال رسانند

وباقي

of their ſubſiſtence, it ſhould be deducted therefrom; and that, if they had defrauded the revenues to three times the amount of their ſalaries, the imperial collectors ſhould levy it upon their fortunes.

Book II.

AND I ordered that the collectors ſhould not take more than was due; but that their conduct ſhould be governed by equity and juſtice, that abuſes might not creep into the ordinances of government.

I commanded that the tales of the wicked, the envious, and the malicious againſt my Vizzeers ſhould not be attended to. For miniſters are a claſs of men who have many enemies; and the inhabitants of this world are ſearchers after the things thereof. If a miniſter patronizes and ſupports them, they will deceive and betray him; and if he neglects thoſe people, they will gird up their loins in oppoſition unto him.

CHUGHTAÏ Khaun had a miniſter whom the ſons of calumny accuſed of peculation to the amount of many thouſand pieces of money. When they preſented the impeachment to the king, he commanded the Vizzeer into his preſence, and thus reproached him, "It "is evident that thou art a wretch of a moſt abject diſ-"poſition, ſince being the miniſter of a prince rich and "powerful as I am, thou canſt be meanly content with "defrauding thy maſter of ſuch poor and contemptible "ſums as theſe." The ſagacious and good Vizzeer, thus

 honoured

اگر دو مقدار علوفه متصرف شده باشند در علوفه
وي حساب نمايند اگر سه برابر علوفه خود گرفته
باشند پيشكش كوبان از وي تحصيل نمايند

وامر نمودم كه از روي اعتبار برنگيرند
واعتبار كرده خودرا بي اعتبار نكنند تا آنكه غلط بر
سلطنت لازم نيآيد

وسخنان ارباب غرض واشرار وحاسدان
در حق وزرا نشنوند كه اين طبقه‌را دشمنان بسيار
باشند چه اهل عالم همه دنيا طلب اند اگر وزرا
رعايت ايشان نمايند خيانت كرده باشند واگر رعايت
نكنند كمر بدشمني بر بندند

چغتاء خان وزيري داشت كه ارباب
تغرير چندين هزار درست زر بروي نوشته بودند چون
آن نوشته‌را بنظر خان در آوردند وزيررا مخاطب
ساخت واز روي عتاب گفت كه تو مرد پست فطرتي
ظاهر شدي چه وزير مثل من پادشاي باشي واز
مملكت من همين قدر قليل تصرف نماي وزير
خردمند بهمين احسان ممنون شده هر چه داشت
آورده

chery will ruin and deſtroy his loyal and faithful ſubjects; and by falſehood, and perfidy, and deceit ſhake and overturn the foundation of his empire. Book II.

Thus Ameer Hooſſein entered into a treacherous correſpondence with one of my Vizzeers. And he adminiſtered to his avarice, and he prevailed upon him to ſow diſcord and enmity between me and Eekoo Timour and Ameer Jaukoo, who were the ſinews of my power and fortune. And I penetrated into the deſigns of Ameer Hooſſein and my Vizzeer, and I liſtened not to their accuſations againſt them.

And thus alſo ſeveral of thoſe in whom I confided, from envy and from malice, communicated fictitious tales unto me, both in public and in private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus, who was one of my moſt powerful and moſt faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my reſentment by their falſe reports; and in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death: and in the end I diſcovered the perfidy of his accuſers, and I was aſhamed and confounded at my own conduct.

If the Vizzeers ſuperintending the revenues, who hold the riches of the empire, were guilty of peculation therein; and if the ſums which they appropriated to their own uſe, exceeded not the amount of their ſalaries, I ordered that it ſhould be conferred upon them; that if they had taken ſums to twice the amount of

بحیله کري ومکاري خراب سازند وبه مکر وغدر در حصار مملکت رخنه اندازند

چنانچـه امیر حسین به یکي از وزراي من در ساخت وویـرا تطمیع کرد که امیـر ایکو تیمور وامیر جاکو با آنکه بازويء دولت من بودند با من در اندازد ومن این معني را بفراست دریافتم وسخناني که در حـق ایـشـان بمن میگفتند نا شنیده مي انکاشتم

وهمچنین جمعي از مـقـربـان من از روي حسد ونفاق سخنان غـیـر واقعه از جانب امیر عباس که از امراي کلان معتبـر من بود در خلا وملا بعرض رسانیدند وآتش غضب مرا به باد سخنان دروغ بـر افروخـتـنـد تا آنکه در حالت غضب تجربه نا کرده امـر بقـتـل وي نمودم ودر آخر حال غدر ایـشـانـرا در حق امیر عباس فهمیدم ونادم وپشیمان کـشـتـم

ووزراي مالي که خزانه دار مملکت اند اکر در مالیات تغلب وتـصرف نمایند واکر بمقدار علوفه خود تصرف نموده باشند بانعام وي مقرر دارند اکر

AND if the Ameers, who are the bulwarks of empire, ſhould diſobey in the hour of action, I ordered that they ſhould be degraded from their commands, and deprived of their powers and their dignities; and that if any of them ſhould be guilty of actions, from whence diſturbances might ariſe in my dominions, that they ſhould be delivered over to the judgement of their peers; and that if they were guilty of neglect in the line of their military duty, they ſhould be claſſed amongſt the ſcribes; and, if in that ſtation they were diſobedient and refractory, that they ſhould be expelled from the imperial ſervice.

CONCERNING THE MINISTERS, WHO ARE THE MOST RESPECTABLE AND CONFIDENTIAL OF THE SERVANTS OF ROYALTY.

I ordained, if they ſhould be guilty of treachery in the concerns of the empire, or form attempts for the ſubverſion of the imperial authority, that their judges ſhould not be precipitate in conſigning them over to death:

AND that they ſhould diſcover and aſcertain who were their accuſers, and firſt try the honeſty and truth of the witneſſes on the touchſtone of examination and proof: for the invidious and the ſlanderers are many; who from envy and ſelf-intereſt will cloath falſehood in the garment of truth, that they may accompliſh their own deſigns.

AND many there are, worthleſs and wicked men, who will ſupport and encourage the enemies of their prince; and who by fraud, and artifice and trea-

وامرا کــه حصار ملک اند اگر در وقت
کار نفاق کنند ایشانرا از امارت وایـالت معـزول
گردانند واگر از ایشان کاري بظهـور رسد که از
آن کار فسادي در ملک ظـاهـر شـود تابیین امرا
نمایند واگر در امور سپاهگري کاهلي نمایند داخل
نویسندگان سازند واگر بعد آن تقصیري وکوتاهي
از ایشان بظهور رسد بار ندهند

در بــاب وزرا که معتمدان ومعتبران
سلسله دولت اند

امر نمودم اگر در امور سلطنت خیانتي
از ایشان ظاهر شود وزوال سلطنت اراده نموده باشند
درکشتن ایشان تعجیل نه نمایند

وتحقیق کنند که مدعي وتـقـریـر
کنندگان ایشان چه کسان اند اول راستي وراست
گويء مدعیان بر محک امتحان تجربه نمایند چه
حـاسدان ومفتریـان بسیار باشند که از روي حسد
وطمع امر دروغي را بلباس راستي بـیارایند تا کار
خودرا ساخته گردانند

وبسیار از سفلگان لـیـم بـاشند که
دشمنان دولت را تسلي نمایند ودولتخواهان جانسپاررا
بحیله

AND that my grandſons ſhould receive ſubſiſtence and lands for from three to ſeven thouſand horſe, each according to his capacity and abilities.

To all others who were related unto me, I commanded that ſubſiſtence and appointments ſhould be given, from the rank of firſt Ameer to the rank of ſeventh Ameer, according to the abilities, and the dignity, and the rank of each; and that every one of them ſhould reſt content with the ſtation wherein he was placed, and preſume not to exceed the limits preſcribed unto him; and that if any one of them ſhould diſobey this order, he ſhould be called to a ſtrict account.

CONCERNING THE PUNISHMENTS OF MY CHILDREN, AND MY GRANDCHILDREN, AND MY RELATIONS, AND MY CHIEFS, AND MY MINISTERS.

I ordained, if either of my ſons ſhould aſpire to the imperial throne, that they ſhould not preſume to put him to death, nor load him with chains; neither ſhould they injure him in his limbs, or his organs; but that they ſhould confine him in a priſon, until he returned back from his evil ways: that civil wars and convulſions might not ariſe in the land of the Lord.

AND if any one of my grandchildren, or relations, roſe in enmity againſt me, I ordered him to be reduced to the ſtate of a Dervaiſh. †

† i. e. To be deprived of his honours and fortune; to be reduced to a ſtate of beggary.

ونبیرکان بقدر استعداد از سه هزار تا
هفت هزار سوارراعلوفه وولایت بکیرند

دیکر جماعت را که بمن قرابت داشتند
فراخور حالت واستعداد وامارت وایالت از مرتبه امیر اول تا امیر هفتم بدهند وهریک در مرتبه حد خود بوده از حد خود تجاوز نه نمایند وچون خلاف ظاهر شود مخاطب کردند

در باب سیاست فرزندان ونبیرکان
وخویشان وامرایان ووزرا

امر نمودم که اکر از فرزندان یکي
مدعي مرتبه سلطنت شود درکشتن وبستن وي جرات نکنند واعضاي ایشان را ناقص نسازند لیکن در قید نکاهدارند تا از دعوي خود باز آیند تا در ملک خدا فساد نشود

ونبایر وخویشان اکر مخالفت نمایند
ایشانرا درویش سازند

وامرا

tants were satisfied, and if the country was flourishing and populous, that he should be continued therein: but if the contrary should appear, that the Jaugheer should return unto the crown; and that for the three following years, subsistence should not be granted to the holder thereof.

AND I ordained that the collection of the taxes from the subject might, when necessary, be enforced by menaces and by threats; but never by whips and by scourges. The governor whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge, is unworthy to govern.

CONCERNING THE SUBSISTENCE OF MY CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS.

I commanded that my eldest son, the heir to my throne, who is Mahummud Jehaungheer, should receive the subsistence of twelve thousand horsemen, and the assignment of territories sufficient to defray the same:

AND that my second son, who is Omur Sheikh, should receive the subsistence of ten thousand horsemen, and lands correspondent thereunto:

AND that my third son, who is Meeraun Shaah, should receive the subsistence of nine thousand horsemen, and the assignment of a province for the payment of the same:

AND that my fourth son, who is Shaah-rokh, should receive the subsistence of seven thousand horsemen, and the assignment of a Jaugheer equivalent thereto:

نمایند اگر ملک اباد ورعایا راضي باشند بحال
خود دارند واگر بر خلاف این باشد آن ولایت را
بخالصه ضبط کنند وتا سه سال آن جاگیردار را
علوفه ندهند

وامر نمودم که مال از رعیت به بیم
وترسانیدن تحصیل نمایند نه بچوب وشلاق چه حکم
حاکمي که از چوب وشلاق کمتر باشد آن حاکم
سزاوار حکومت نباشد

مراتب علوفه فرزندان ونبایر

امر نمودم که فرزند اولین که محمد
جهانگیر است وولي عهد من باشد دوازده هزار سوار را
علوفه وولایت بگیرد

وفرزند دویمین که عمر شیخ است ده
هزار سوار را علوفه وولایت بگیرد

وفرزند سیومین که میران شاه است
نه هزار سوار را علوفه بگیرد وبر ولایت متصرف گردد

وفرزند جهارمین که شاهرخ است هفت
هزار سوار را علوفه وولایت بگیرد

ونبیرگان

of audience; and that the Ameers and the Mingbaufhees  fhould each of them take one of thofe affignments; and that if the amount thereof exceeded the fum of his fubfiftence, fome one elfe fhould participate with him; and if it were lefs, that another fhould be given in exchange, or added unto it.

And I commanded that the Ameers and the Mingbaufhees, in collecting the revenues from the fubjects, fhould not on any account demand more than the taxes and duties eftablifhed.

And to every province on which a royal affignment was granted, I ordained that two fupervifors fhould be appointed to that province: that one of them fhould infpect the collections and watch over the concerns of the inhabitants, that they might not be impoverifhed, and that the Jaugheerdaur † might not ill-ufe or opprefs them; and that he fhould take an account of all the fums which were collected in the province: and that the other fupervifor fhould keep a regifter of the public expences, and diftribute the revenues among the foldiers.

And every Ameer who was appointed to a Jaugheer, ‡ I ordained that for the fpace of three years it fhould remain unto him; and that after three years the ftate of the province fhould be infpected. If the inhabi-

‡ In the original *Yettool*; which is Mogul, and has the fame meaning with *Jaugheer*.

tants

باشيان يرليغي بردارند واگر از علوفه وي زياده باشد ديگري را بخود شريک سازد واگر کم باشد يرليغ ديگري را بردارد

وامر نمودم که امرا ومنک باشيان در تحصيل مال وجهات از رعيت چيزي زياده از اصل المال وساوري وقنلغه وشيلان* بها طلب ندارند

وهر مملکت را که ينول* بدهند دو وزير بدآن مملکت تعين نمايند يکي جمع ولايت بنويسد ونسق رعيت نمايد تا خرابي بحال رعيت راه نيابد وجاگيردار ظلم وتعدي بر رعايا نتواند کرد وانچه از ولايت تحصيل شود در مداخل جمع نمايد ووزير ديگر مخارج بنويسد وبر سپاه قسمت نمايد

وبهر اميري که ينول* بدهند تا سه سال بحال نگاهدارند وبعد از سه سال ملاحظه

† *Jaugheer* is a royal grant of certain lands; or more properly an assignment of the crown revenues of a certain district to any one, and revocable at the pleasure of the prince. The holder of this grant is called *Jaugheerdaur*.

نمايند

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT AND PAY OF MY TROOPS.

I commanded that the accompt of twelve months ſubſiſtence for the infantry, and the Kulluckcheaun, and the Yuſſauwullaun, and the Juſſauwullaun ſhould be made out at one time; and that the money which was their due ſhould be brought forth into the hall of audience, and there delivered unto them.

I ordered that the accompts of the ſubſiſtence of my cavalry in general ſhould be made out every ſix months; and that appointments to the amount of their pay ſhould be delivered unto them from the treaſury.

AND I ordained that for the ſubſiſtence of the Ounbauſhees and the Euzbauſhees written orders ſhould be given on the Maulaumauni † of the cities and the country; and that the interior diſtricts ſhould be allotted for the payment of the Mingbauſhees; and that the ſtipends of the Ameers and the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould be granted on the revenues of the frontier provinces.

AND I COMMANDED THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCES, AND THE DISTRICTS, SHOULD BE MADE IN THIS MANNER:

THAT the amount of the revenues of the various provinces and kingdoms ſhould be divided into lots for more or for leſs, and that a royal aſſignment for the payment of each of thoſe lots ſhould be made out; and that thoſe aſſignments ſhould be brought into the hall

† Impoſts, duties.

of

تزوک تنخاه ورسانیدن علوفه بسپاه

امر نمودم که یکساله علوفه پیادگان وقلغچیان ویساولان وچساولان را* بر آورد نموده مبلغ ایشانرا در دیوانخانه آورده بدیشان برسانند

وعلوفه سایر سپاه وبهادرانیکه را امر نمودم که شش ماهه بر آورد نمایند ووجه علوفه ایشانرا از خزانه تنخاه دهند

وامر نمودم که علوفه اون باشي ویوز باشي بر مال اماني شهري وملکي نقد برات نویسند ومنک باشیانرا در میان ولایت یتول* بدهند وامرا وامیر الامرا را در سرحدها ولایت مقرر نمایند

وامر نمودم که قسمت ولایات بدین طریق نمایند

که جمع حاصل ولایات وممالک را تقسیم نمایند ودر یرلیغها کم وزیاده بنویسند وآن یرلیغها را در دیوانخانه آورده هریک از امرا ومنک باشیان

And I commanded that the pay of the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould be ten times as much as the pay of the officer ſubordinate unto him. And, in like manner, I ordained that the ſtipends of the Dewaunbeghi and of the Vizzeers ſhould be ten times as much as the ſubſiſtence of the Ameers; and that the ſubſiſtence of the Yuſſauwullaun, the Juſſauwullaun, and the Kulluckcheaun ſhould be eſtabliſhed at from one thouſand to ten thouſand. †

And I ordained that penſions, and ſalaries, and ſubſiſtence ſhould be conferred on the poſterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the men of ſcience, and the learned in medicine, and on the aſtrologers, and the hiſtorians, in proportion to their different ranks and ſtations: and that the ſubſiſtence of the foot-ſoldiers, and the domeſtics, and the Furrauſhaun ‡ ſhould be fixed at from a hundred to a thouſand.

And I ordained alſo that the Ameer ul Omrau ſhould receive his ſubſiſtence under the inſpection of the Dewaunbeghi and the Vizzeers. And I commanded that the Vizzeers and the Dewaunbeghi ſhould lay before me the ſtatement of the ſalaries of each of my people, and pay them agreeably thereto.

And I ordained that a written order for his ſubſiſtence ſhould be delivered to each of my ſoldiers; and that the ſums which from time to time were advanced unto him, ſhould be written down on the back of that order.

‡ The *Furrauſhaun* are the people employed to erect the tents, &c.

وامر نمودم که علوفه امیر الامرا ده

برابر علوفه تابینان ایشان بوده باشد وهمچنان امر نمودم که علوفه دیوان بیکي ووزرا ده برابر امرا باشد وعلوفه یساولان وجساولان وقلقچیان* از هزار تا ده هزار مقرر باشد

وعلوفه مجلسیان از سادات وعلما وفضلا وحکما واطبا ومنجمان وارباب قصص وروایات فراخور نسبت ایشان سیورغال* ووظیفه وعلوفه معین دارند وعلوفه پیادکان وخدم وفراشان از صد تا هزار مقرر نمایند

وامر کردم که امیر الامرا بتصدیق دیوان بیکي ووزرا علوفه بگیرد وعرض مراتب علوفه هریک را دیوانبیکي ووزرا بعرض من رسانند وتنخواه دهند

وامر نمودم که یرلیغ علوفه بهریک از سپاه نوشته بسپارند انچه بوي رسانند در پست همان یرلیغ وصول آن مبلغ بنویسند

† This regulation is not underftood by the the tranflator. The words *Yuffauwullaun*, *Juffauwullaun*, and *Kulluckcheaun* are Mogul.

تزوك

Euzbaufhees, and the Ounbaufhees, and the common foldiers fhould be fixed and determined according to the following order.

I ordained that the fubfiftence of each of the private foldiers, if he were a fufficient and able man, fhould be fixed at the value of his horfe; † and that the fubfiftence of my felect and chofen warriors fhould be eftimated at the value of from two to four horfes each.

And I ordered that the fubfiftence of the Ounbaufhees fhould be ten times as much as the fubfiftence of the foldiers under them; and that the fubfiftence of the Euzbaufhees fhould be twice as much as that of the Ounbaufhees; and that the fubfiftence of the Mingbaufhees fhould be three times as much as the fubfiftence of the Euzbaufhees.

And I ordained that the foldier who neglected his duty, ‡ fhould be fined in one tenth of his pay. And I commanded that the Ounbaufhees fhould receive their fubfiftence under the controul of the Euzbaufhees; and that the Euzbaufhees fhould receive their fubfiftence under the controul of the Mingbaufhees; and that the Mingbaufhees fhould receive their fubfiftence unde. the controul of the Ameer ul Omrau. ||

times three, horfes each; which are mounted by their fervants, and they receive pay in proportion.

‡ The word thus tranflated is Mogul, and the fenfe doubtful.

|| i. e. The chief of the Ameers or Nobles.

باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان وسایر سپاه برین
نهج مقرر کردانند

که علوفه سایر سپاه بشرط اصالت
وسپاهکری بهاي اسپ وي مقرر باشد وعلوفه
بهادرانیکه از بهاء دو اسپ تا چهار اسپ معین باشد

وعلوفه اون باشي ده برابر علوفه تابینان
وي باشد وعلوفه یوز باشي دو برابر علوفه اون باشي
وعلوفه منک باشي سه برابر علوفه یوز باشي
معین باشد

وحکم کردم که هریک از سپاه که
در چار پلچار* کوتاهي نماید ده یک از علوفه وي
کم نمایند وامر نمودم که اون باشي به تصدیق
یوز باشي علوفه بکیرد ویوز باشي بتصدیق منک
باشي ومنک باشي به تصدیق امیر الامرا علوفه
بکیرد

† This mode of fixing the pay of the soldier is ſtill practiced in Hindoſtaun. Every ſoldier finds his own horſe, and receives pay in proportion to his value. Select men are ſtill taken into ſervice with two, and ſometimes

وامر

AND that, when ten Euzbaushee were collected together, an officer of exalted lineage, the son of a chief, of approved knowledge, and valour, and intrepidity, should be appointed commander over them; and that he should be called Mingbaushee, and Leader of a thousand. Book II.

AND I gave power to the Ounbaushees, that if any soldier under their command should die, or should desert, that they should appoint another soldier in his place. In the like manner I ordained, that the Euzbaushee should appoint the Ounbaushee, and the Mingbaushee the Euzbaushee; and that they should lay before me an account of the person who had died or deserted, and of the appointment of another in his stead.

AND I commanded in the like manner, that, on military service and in every concern that related to government, the authority of the Mingbaushee should be established over the Euzbaushee; and the authority of the Euzbaushee over the Ounbaushee; and the authority of the Ounbaushee over the common soldier; that they should chastise those that were disobedient; and that those who in the day of battle were deficient in performing their duty, should be expelled; and that others should be appointed in their place.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAY OF MY FORCES.

I commanded that the subsistence of my troops, of the Omraus, and the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees,

وچون ده یوز باشي جمع آیند امیر زاده عاقل اصیل بهادر مردانه را بریشان امیر کردانند وویرا منک باشي وامیر هزاره خطاب دهند

واون باشیان را مختار ساختم که اکر یکي از تابینان ایشان فوت شود یا فرار نماید دیکري را بجاي وي مقرر سازند وهمچنین یوز باشي اون باشي را ومنک باشي یوز باشي را تعین نمایند وکیفیت فوت یا فرار او ونصب کردن دیکري را بعرض رسانند

وهمچنین امر کردم که در چار پلچار* وامور سلطنت حکم منک باشي بر یوز باشي وحکم یوز باشي بر اون باشي وحکم اون باشي بر تابینان جاري باشد واکر خلاف نمایند بسزا رسانند واکر در چار پلچار* کوتاهي نمایند اخراج نموده عوض نکاه دارند

## تزوک قرار علوفه سپاه

امر کردم که علوفه سپاه از امرا ومنک باشیان

ELEVENTHLY. In the affairs of his government, and in the iſſuing forth his orders and commands, he muſt conſider himſelf as ſingle and alone; nor muſt he aſſociate any one with him in the adminiſtration of his authority.

TWELFTHLY. He muſt be acquainted with the manners and the diſpoſitions of his favourites and his confidents. And he muſt act with caution and circumſpection: for many are lovers of ſlander and of calumny, who may carry reports abroad, and communicate to the Vizzeers and the Ameers the words and the actions of their prince. Thus, it once happened unto me at a time when ſeveral of thoſe whom I admitted to my private council proved to be the ſpies of my Vizzeers and my Omraus.

REGULATIONS FOR THE FORMING OF MY ARMY.

I ordained, when ten ſelect ſoldiers, men of proof, were collected together, that one of them, who was diſtinguiſhed for valour and for bravery, ſhould, with the advice and the conſent of the remaining nine, be appointed commander over them; and that he ſhould be called Ounbauſhee:

AND when ten Ounbauſhee were aſſembled together, that one of them who was qualified by ſervice and abilities, ſhould be appointed their leader; and that he ſhould be ſtiled Euzbauſhee:

AND

یازدهم در امور سلطنت واجرای
احکام خودرا بی شریک داند وکسی را شریک
سلطنت نگرداند

دوازدهم از حال اهل مجلس خود
آگاه باشد وهوشیاری بکار برد که اکثر خواهش
عیوب باشند وخبر به بیرون رسانند واز گفتار وکردار
پادشاه خبر به امرا ووزرا بگویند چنانچه این قضیه
بر من بوقوع آمده چون جمعی از اهل مجلس
خاص من جاسوسان امرا ووزرا من بودند

تزوک نگاهداشت سپاه

امر نمودم که چون ده نفر سپاهی
اصیل کارکرده جمع آیند یکی از ایشان که بجوهر
شجاعت ومردی مخصوص باشد بصلاح ورضاء آن
نه نفر دیگر ویرا بر ایشان امیر گردانند ویرا اون
باشی نام نهند
وچون ده اون باشی جمع شوند یکی
از ایشان که بکارگذاری وکاردانی آراسته باشد بر
ایشان امیر گردانند وویرا یوز باشی نام گردانند

وچون

SEVENTHLY. On the affairs of his government he muſt liſten to the opinions of his ſervants: thoſe which are good, he muſt lay up in the treaſury of his heart, and call them forth into action at their proper ſeaſons. Book II.

EIGHTHLY. In the concerns of dominion, and in thoſe things which relate to his ſubjects and his ſoldiers, he muſt not act by the aſſiſtance and the advice of others. If his Vizzeers or his Ameers ſpeak unto him concerning any one, whether that which they ſay be good, or whether it be evil, let him hearken to them; but in forming his determination thereon let him be cautious and circumſpect, until the truth be apparent unto him.

NINTHLY. It is neceſſary that the majeſty of his dominion be ſo impreſſed on the hearts of his ſoldiers and his ſubjects, that none ſhall dare to diſobey his orders and commands, or to revolt from their duty and obedience to his royal authority.

TENTHLY. What the king doeth he muſt do from himſelf; and he muſt adhere to that which he ſayeth: for unto a prince there is nothing ſo valuable as a juſt veneration for his royal word. This word is unto him a family of princes, and a rich treaſury; it maketh to him numerous ſubjects and powerful armies.

هفتم در امور سلطنت از هر کس سخن بشنود انچه پسندیده باشد در خزانه خاطر خود نکاهدارد ودر وقتش بکار برد

هشتم در امور سلطنت وسپاه ورعیت بقول وفعل هر کس عمل نکند واز وزرا وامرا که در حق شخصي سخني کویند بشنود خواه نیک وخواه بد لیکن در عمل نمودن بآن تامل نماید تا آنکه حقیقت حال بروي ظاهر کردد

نهم باید که سطوت سلطنتش در دلها سپاه ورعیت بنوعي جاي کیرد که هیچکس را باراي تخلف از امر وحکم وي نباشد واز اطاعت ومتابعتش عصیان نورزند .

دهم انچه کند بذات خود کند وانچه کوید بر سخن خود راسخ باشد چه پادشاه را جز اعزاز حکم چیزي دیکر بهره نباشد که خزانه ولشکر ورعیت وسلاطین همین حکم ایشان باشد

بازدهم

So it hath been related unto me, that Sooltaun Muhmood, emperor of Ghizni, ordered on a certain occaſion that a ſtone ſhould be caſt down at the entrance of the plain of Ghiznein: and the horſes of the people ſtarted and ſprang back from that ſtone. And although his ſervants ſolicited his permiſſion that they might remove the ſtone from the entrance of the road, he refuſed his aſſent: he anſwered unto them, 'I have iſſued 'forth the order; and I will not turn back from, or con-'tradict, my own commands.' Book II.

SIXTHLY; (for from hence proceedeth ſecurity and power) he muſt not truſt the concerns of his government to others, nor deliver over the reins of his authority into the hands of a ſervant: for the world is full of treachery, and hath many lovers; and it may ſoon come to paſs that the powerful ſervant ſhall aſpire to regal dignity, and ſeat himſelf on the throne of his maſter.

SUCH was the conduct of the miniſters of Sooltaun Muhmood towards their lord. They expelled him from the imperial throne, and they divided his dominions and his power amongſt themſelves. It is neceſſary therefore that the powers and important affairs of government be divided; and that they be entruſted to the care of divers perſons of approved fidelity, and of known loyalty; ſo that being employed in their own proper departments, no one of them may aſpire to the ſupreme authority.

چنانچه بمسامع من رسید کـه سلطان
محمود غـزنـوي حکم کـرد که سنکي بر سر میدان
غـزنـین بینداختند واز آن سـنـک اسپان مردم رم
میکردند هرچند بعرض رسانیدند که آن سنک را از
سـر راه بـر دارند کفت که حکمي کرده ام از حکم
خود بر نمیکردم وخلاف حکم نمیکنم

ششم امـور سلطنت خـودرا من حیث
الاستقلال بدیکري نسپارد وعنان اختیار خود بدست
دیکري ندهد که دنیا غدار است وعاشق بسیار دارد
وزود باشد که آن صاحب اختیـار میل بر سلطنت
نموده متصرف مرتبه سلطنت کردد
چنانچـه وزراي سلطان محمود با وي
کردند وویرا از مرتبه سلطنت خلع نموده ومملکت
وسلطنت ویرا متصرف کشتند پس بایـد که امـور
سلطنت متابع کراند بچـند کس معتبر ومعتمد
که تا هر یکي بکار خود مشغول بوده طمع در مرتبه
سلطنت ننمایند

هفتم

unjuſt and cruel, it ſhall ſpeedily come to paſs, that the edifice of his maſters's power and dominion ſhall be levelled with the earth. Book II.

THUS Ameer Hooſſein had a cruel and a wicked miniſter, who levied oppreſſive fines on the ſoldiers and on the ſubjects; until in a ſhort time by the oppreſſions of that unjuſt and cruel miniſter, the fabric of the dominion of Ameer Hooſſein was laid in the duſt.

THIRDLY. In his injuctions and in his prohibitions he muſt act with reſolution and with firmneſs. And he himſelf muſt iſſue his royal commands, that no one may have the temerity, or the power, to interpoſe, to alter, or to corrupt them.

FOURTHLY. He muſt be firm and conſtant in all his determinations. That is to ſay, on whatever plan or enterpriſe he ſhall reſolve, he muſt not alter his reſolution, nor withdraw his hand from that enterpriſe, until he hath brought it to a fortunate concluſion.

THE FIFTH is the ſpirit of command. For whatever command he giveth, it is neceſſary that that command ſhould be obeyed; that no one ſhould have the power to act in oppoſition thereto, even though inconvenience or miſchief ſhould be the expected conſequence of that command.

So

عادل تدارک آن نماید اما اگر وزیر ظالم باشد زود باشد که خانه سلطنت خراب کرد

چنانچه امیر حسین وزیري داشت ظالم که بحق وناحق جریمها از سپاه ورعیت میگرفت تا در اندک زمانـي از ظلم آن وزیـري بي انصاف خانه سلطنت امیر حسین خراب شد

سیوم در اوامر ونهي استقلال بکار برد وبذات خـود حکم کند که دیگري را زهـره آن نباشد که در آن حکم دخل کند وتغیر دهد

چهارم بر عزیمت خود راسخ باشد یعني بر هر کاري که عـزیمت بندد فسخ آن نکند وتا باتمام نرساند دست از آن کار باز ندارد

پنجم جریان حـکـم است چه حکمي که بکند باید که آن حکم جاري کردد وکه کسي را یاراي آن نباشد که رد آن حکم تواند کرد اگرچـه در آن حکم ضررها متصور باشد

چنانچه

THUS I eſtabliſhed rules for the ſecurity of my government.

I regulated my conduct by TWELVE CERTAIN MAXIMS: and by them I ſeated myſelf firmly on the throne of empire. And from experience it is known unto me, that every prince who adhereth not to theſe Twelve Maxims, ſhall reap little advantage from his dominion and regal ſtation.

FIRST. It is neceſſary that his words and his actions be his own. That is to ſay, that his ſoldiers and his ſubjects may know that what the king ſayeth and doeth, he ſayeth and doeth from himſelf; and that no other perſon hath influence therein.

THEREFORE it is requiſite that a king be not ſo guided by the conduct and the counſels of others, as to make them his aſſociates in his regal authority. For although he be obliged to hear good advice from all, yet he muſt not to that degree attend unto them, as to enable them by their meaſures and their counſels to become his equals, and in the end his ſuperiors, in the concerns of his government.

SECONDLY. It is neceſſary to a king that he adhere to juſtice in all his actions, and that he receive into his ſervice miniſters who are juſt and virtuous. For if a king be guilty of oppreſſion, an upright miniſter may counteract the evil thereof. But if the miniſter be unjuſt

تـزوک استقلال سلطنت خـود چنین کـردم

که دوازده چیز را شعار خود ساختم تا باستقلال تمام بر تخت سلطنت نشستم وبه تجربه من رسیده است که با هر پادشاهي که این دوازده امر نباشد از سلطنه بهره نداشته باشد

اول باید که کردار وگفتارش از خود باشـد یعني سپاه ورعیت بدانند که انچه بادشاه میکوید ومیکند خود میکوید ومیکند ودیکري را در آن دخلي نیست

پس بایـد که پادشاه بکفتار وکردار دیکران بنوعي که شـریک مرتبه سلطنت کردند عمل نکند اکرچه سخن خوب از همه کس باید شنید اما نـه بمرتبه که از کفتار وکردار در امـور سلطنت شریک وغالب کردند

دویـم سلطانرا باید که در همه چیـز عدالت بکار برد ووزراي عادل با انصاف در خدمت خود نکاهدارد واکر پادشاه ظلم کـنـد وزیـر عادل

body of the people, the indigent and the poor, who had capacity and abilities, I commanded to be accommodated agreeably to their ſituations. Book II.

I ordered that the merchant who had loſt his property, ſhould have ſuch ſums of money given unto him as were ſufficient to reſtore his capital to its original ſtate; and that every huſbandman and every peaſant, who was not poſſeſſed of the implements of huſbandry and cultivation, ſhould be ſupplied therewith; and that thoſe, of whatever claſs or rank, who choſe the occupation of arms, ſhould be received into military ſervice.

AND the genuine deſcendant of a ſoldier, reſolute and brave, of whatever tribe or hord he might be, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces, and to be promoted in proportion to his conduct and behaviour.

AND I ordained that no perſon, whatever his rank, who entered my palace, ſhould be excluded from the table of my imperial bounty.

AND whoever was brought into my preſence, and attracted my notice, I commanded that honours ſhould be conferred upon him in proportion to his rank; and that every criminal who came for the firſt time before my tribunal, ſhould be pardoned; but that for the ſecond, and the third, crime he ſhould meet with puniſhment adequate to his offences.

الناس را از فقرا ومساكين كه استطاعت داشته باشد
فراخور احوال وطبقه مرسوم قرار دهند

وحكم كردم كه هر تاجري كه راس
المال را از دست داده باشد بوي آن قدر زر دهند كه
باز راس المال خويش سازد وهر مزارعي ورعيتي كه
از رعيتي وزراعـت بـي استطاعت شده باشد مصالح
زراعت وعمارت بوي مقرر دارند وهر طايفه وهر صنفي
كه شيوه سپاهگري اختيار كند وي را سپاهي سازند

وسپاهـي زاده شجاع اصل از هر طايفه
كه باشد اورا اورن دهند وفـراخـور كار تـربيت
نمايند
وامر نمودم كه هركس از هر طايفه كه
بمجلس من در آيد ويرا از خوان نعمت سلطنت من
محروم نگردانند
وهركس را بنظر من در آورند ونظر من
بروي افتاد تشريفات فراخور احوال بوي ارزاني دارند
وهركس از گنه كاران وبي گناه كه بديوان عدالت
من در آيـد بروي به بخشايند ودر گناه دوم وسيوم
فراخور گناه سزا دهند

تزوك

tun, and from Cheen, and from Maucheen, and from Hindoſtaun, and from the cities of Arabia, and from Miſſur, and from Shaum, and from Room, and from the iſlands of the Chriſtians; that they might give me information of the ſituation, and of the manners, and of the cuſtoms of the natives and the inhabitants of thoſe regions; and that they might obſerve, and communicate unto me, the conduct of the princes of every kingdom, and of every country, towards their ſubjects. Book II.

RELATIVE to the various tribes, whether Toork or Taucheek, Arrub or Ajjum,† who ſought ſhelter under my government; theſe were the REGULATIONS which I eſtabliſhed.

FIRST, I commanded that thoſe who were of the poſterity of the prophet, or theologians learned in the laws, ſhould be received with reverence and reſpect; and that all their wiſhes and deſires ſhould be fulfilled; and that they ſhould be ſupported in affluence and honour.

AND thoſe who were ſoldiers, I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank and their circumſtances.

AND thoſe who were ſkilled in mechanic arts, I directed to be employed in my ſervice. And the

the Arabs the word *Ajjum* or *Ajjumi* to diſtinguiſh any perſon, or people, of a different nation from their own. Thus *Taucheek* and *Ajjum* anſwer to our word *foreigner*.

وماچین وهندوستان وبلاد عرب ومصر وشام وروم
وجزایر فرنک متاع نفیس وتحفهاي لایق بجهت من
بیاورند واحوال واوضاع واطوار متوطنان وسکنه آن
دیار را بعرض من رسانند وسلوک حکام هر مملکتي را
با رعایا بخاطر آورده نمودار سازند تزوک طوایفي که
از ترک وتاچیک وعرب وعجم بدرگاه من التجا
آوردند چنین کردم

که اول امر نمودم که هر طایفه وهر
طبقه را که سادات وعلما باشند اعزاز واحترام نمایند
وهر مطلبي که ایشانرا بوده باشد
با نجاح مقرون کردانند ورعایت احوال ایشان بواجبي
نمایند

واکر طایفه سپاه بوده باشد ایشانرا اورن
داده فراخور احوال پرداخت احوال ایشان نمایند
واکر از ارباب معرفت وصناعت باشد
در کارخانجات سلطنت ایشانرا بکار دارند وسایر

† i. e. Whether Tatars or Perſians, Arabs or Syrians. Such are the confined meanings of the words *Taucheek* and *Ajjum*; but they frequently convey a more extenſive idea: for the Tatars uſe the word *Taucheek*, and the

الناس

mighty had given wiſdom; † and I aſſociated with them; and I heard from them the word of God; and I acquired knowledge of the bleſſings of a future ſtate. And I ſaw them perform miracles and wonderful things; and I reaped delight and ſatisfaction from their converſation. Book II.

THE ELEVENTH CLASS. I brought into my palace artificers of every ſort, and of every denomination; and I admitted them into my camp; that both at home and abroad they might ſupply, and keep in readineſs, the neceſſaries requiſite to my ſoldiers.

THE TWELFTH CLASS. To travellers, and to voyagers, of every country I gave encouragement; that they might communicate unto me the intelligence and tranſactions of the ſurrounding nations.

AND I appointed merchants and chiefs of Kauruvvauns to travel to every kingdom, and to every country; that they might bring unto me all ſorts of valuable merchandize and rare curioſities, from Khuttau, and from Khuttun,

and devoted themſelves to ſolitude, to the ſtudy of the Koraun, and the regular performance of the religious duties preſcribed by their law-giver. Theſe hermits, or monks, like their brethren of the weſtern church, acquired in all times a large ſhare of popular reſpect and veneration by their auſterities and apparent ſanctity. They too performed their miracles and wonderful things; and, if the eaſtern hiſtorians may be credited, with as much dexterity and addreſs as any of thoſe holy men and women on whom the honour of ſaintſhip has been conferred by the infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs.

آخروی اخذ نمودم وسخنان خداي مي شنيدم وکرامات وخوارق عادات از ایشان مشاهده مي نمودم ومرا از صحبت ایشان سرور وحضور تمام حاصل مي آمد

یازدهم طایفه    ارباب صناعت را از هر طایفه وهر صنفي بدولتخانه خود آوردم ودر اردوي خود ایشانرا اورن دادم که در سفر وحضر ما يحتاج سپاه را حاضر داشته باشند

طایفه دوازدهم    مترددین ومسافران هر ملک ودیار را تسلي دادم که اخبار ممالک را بمن برسانند

وتجارانرا وقافله سالاران را تعین نمودم که بهر ملک وهر دیار رفته از ختا وختن وچین

† The firſt, the third, and this (the tenth) claſs, appear on a ſuperficial view to be the ſame people, i.e. men devoted to the duties of religion; but, on a nearer examination, it is evident that they were claſſes diſtinct from each other. The firſt were undoubtedly the heads of the Mahummudan church, the poſterity of Aali, the dignified prelates, and the eminent doctors of the law. The third claſs appears to be a ſelection (from the firſt) of ſuch eminent men as had rendered themſelves celebrated by their ſuperior piety and religious attention to the laws. And by this (the tenth) claſs Timour evidently means ſuch religious men, as had retired from the world and

وماچين

THE EIGHTH CLASS. Men learned in medicine, and thoſe ſkilled in the art of healing, and aſtrologers, and geometricians, who are eſſential to the dignity of empire, I drew around me.

AND, by the aid of phyſicians and chirurgeons, I gave health to the ſick. And, with the aſſiſtance of aſtrologers, I aſcertained the benign or malignant aſpect of the ſtars; their motions, and the revolutions of the heavens. And, with the aid of geometricians and architects, I laid out gardens, and planned and conſtructed magnificent buildings.

THE NINTH CLASS. Hiſtorians, and ſuch as were poſſeſſed of information and intelligence, I admitted to my preſence. And from theſe men I heard the lives of the prophets and the patriarchs; and the hiſtories of ancient princes, and the events by which they arrived at the dignity of empire, and the cauſes of the declenſion of their fortunes.

AND from the narratives and the hiſtories of thoſe princes, and from the manners and the conduct of each of them, I acquired experience and knowledge. And from thoſe men I heard the deſcriptions and the traditions of the various regions of the globe, and acquired knowledge of the ſituations of the kingdoms of the earth.

THE TENTH CLASS. I united myſelf with holy and pious men, with thoſe to whom the Almighty

هشتم طبقه حکما واطبا ومنجمان
ومهندسان که مصالح کارخانه سلطنت اند بر خود
جمع آوردم
وباتفاق حکما واطبا معالجه بیماران
می کردم واز طبقه منجمان سعادت ونحوست ایام
کواکب وسیر ایشان ودور افلاک را مشخص مینمودم
وباتفاق مهندسان عمارات عالي بنا نهاده تعمیر کردم
وطرح باغات انداختم

نهم طایفه محدثین وارباب اخبار
وقصص را بخود راه دادم واز قصص انبیا واولیا واخبار
سلاطین روزکار وکیفیت رسیدن ایشان بمرتبه
سلطنت وزوال دولت ایشان ازین طایفه مي
شنیدم
واز قصص واخبار ایشان وکفتار وکردار
هریک تجربها برمیداشتم واخبار وآثار عالم از ایشان
مي شنیدم وبر احوال عالم اطلاع حاصل مي
نمودم

دهم طایفه بمشایخ وصوفیان وعارفان
خدا پیوستم وبایشان صحبتها داشتم وفواید
آخروی

And thofe of my officers whofe refolution and abilities I had weighed and proved in the balance of trial, I received into my efpecial favour, and I promoted them to the rank of commanders: and, in proportion to their conduct, I advanced them to fuperior ftations.

The sixth class. From amongft the wife and the prudent, who merited truft and confidence, who were worthy of being confulted on the affairs of government, and to whofe care I might fubmit the fecret concerns of my empire, I felected a certain number, whom I conftituted the repofitories of my fecrets. And my weighty and hidden tranfactions, and my fecret thoughts and intentions I delivered over to them.

The seventh class. By the vizzeers, and the fecretaries, and the fcribes I gave order and regularity to my public councils. I made them the keepers of the mirrour of my government; in which they fhewed unto me the affairs of my dominions and my empire, and the concerns of my armies and my people.

And they kept rich my treafury; and they fecured plenty and profperity to my foldiers and to my fubjects. And by proper and fkilful meafures they repaired the diforders incident to empire; and they kept in order the revenues and the expences of government; and they exerted themfelves in promoting plenty and population throughout my dominions.

وشجاعت وعقل هر کس از سایر
سپاه را که بمیزان عیار مي سنجیدم تربیت کرده
بمرتبه امارت میرسانیدم وفراخور کار ایشان بر مراتب
ایشان مي افزودم

طایفه ششم از خردمندان معتقد
راسخ الاعتقاد که سزاواران بودند که رازهاي
امور سلطنت بایشان سپارم ومشورهٔ امور سلطنت
بایشان کنم طایفه را صاحب اسرار نهاني خود ساختم
وامور مخفي واسرار نهاني خودرا بدیشان سپردم

هفتم طایفه از وزرا وکتاب ومنشیان
دیوان سلطنت خودرا آراسته ساختم وایشان را آینه
دار ممالک خود ساختم که وقایع ملک ومملکت
وسپاه ورعیت را بمن نمودار میساختند
وخزانه ورعیت وسپاه مرا معمور نگاه
میداشتند ورخنه ملک را بتدبیر لایق بر میبستند
ومداخل ومخارج کارخانه سلطنه مرا مضبوط نگاه
میداشتند ودر توفیر ومعموري ملک ساعي مي
بودند

هشتم

thods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of ſkirmiſhing, and all the other operations of war: and I placed confidence in them; and I conſulted their opinions in proportion to their ſkill and experience. Book II.

THE FIFTH CLASS. The ſoldier and the ſubject I regarded with the ſame eye. And the brave and the reſolute from amongſt my warriors I diſtinguiſhed by gifts and by honours.

AND I treated with dignity and attention the rulers and the chiefs of every province and kingdom; and I conferred rewards upon them, and I reaped benefit from their ſervices.

AND I kept my troops in a ſtate of readineſs, and I advanced to them their wages even before it was due. Thus in my expedition againſt Room, I gave unto my ſoldiers ſeven years wages; part thereof due, and the remainder in advance. And ſuch was the diſcipline which I eſtabliſhed amongſt my troops and my ſubjects, that the one was never injured or oppreſſed by the other.

AND my ſoldiers of every rank I confined in ſuch ſort to their ſeveral ſtations, that they could not ſte beyond the limits preſcribed to them: and I neither exalted them above, nor depreſſed them below the reſt of my ſubjects. And thoſe of them who ſignalized themſelves by eminent ſervices, I rewarded with honours and donations.

وچپقولشها از ایشان سوالات مینهودم ودر مرتبه سپاهکري ایشانرا معتمد میداشتم وکنکاش از ایشان میطلبیدم

پنجم طایفه سپاه ورعیت را بیک چشم دیدم واشجعان سپاه را از بهادران ودلاوران به اوتاغه* کمر وترکش خاصه سر بلند ساختم

وکلانتران وکدخدایان هر ملک ومملکت را کرامي داشتم وبایشان جزا دادم ونفع کرفتم

وسپاه را حاضر نکاهداشتم وعلوفه ایشان را پیش از طلب میدادم چنانچه در یساق روم هفت ساله علوفه از کذشته وآینده به سپاه دادم وسپاه ورعیت را بنوعي ضبط نهودم که از هیچ یک بر دیکري تعدي وعنفي واقع نمي شد

وسایر سپاه را علي مراتب درجاتهم در مراتب خود نکاه میداشتم که از حد خود قدم بیرون نمي کذاشتند ومرتبه ایشان را نه بلند بلند ساختم ونه پست پست واز هر کدام که خدمتي بوقوع مي آمد بجلدو وانعام امتیاز میدادم

وشجاعت

in my deliberations, I reaped the greateſt advantage from their mediation. And by them I obtained victories in the day of battle.

THUS it came to paſs, when in an engagement with Touktummiſh Khaun my forces were thrown into confuſion by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen (of Subzvaur) who was noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head, and ſtretched forth his arms in ſupplication: his prayer was not yet concluded, when the effects of his mediation became apparent.

AND ſo alſo it came to paſs, at a time when one of the inhabitants of my Hoorrum Surrai † was afflicted with a deadly diſtemper. Twelve holy Siuds, celebrated for their piety, aſſembled together; and each of them devoted a year of his own exiſtence to her preſervation: and ſhe was reſtored to health, and enjoyed the full meaſure of their donation.

THE FOURTH CLASS. The Ameers, and the chiefs, and the commanders of my forces, I admitted to my councils; and I raiſed them to exalted dignities; and I aſſociated, and converſed familiarly, with them.

AND I loved thoſe intrepid warriors who had given repeated proofs of their courage and abilities. And I propoſed queſtions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in ſituations of peril, and the me-

† One of his wives.

از ایشان برکتی تمام می یافتم ودر روز جنک از ایشان ظفرها میدیدم

چنانچه در وقتی که لشکر من بواسطه کثرت لشکر توقتمش خان در جنک مضطرب شدند میر ضیا الدین سبزواری که صاحب الدعوت بود سر خودرا برهنه ساخت ودست بدعا بر آورد وهنوز دعای وی باتمام نرسیده بود که اثر دعای وی ظاهر کردید

وچنانچه در وقتی که یکی از اهل حرم سرای مرا بیماری صعب عارض شده بود دوازده سید دعاکوی جمع آمده هریک یک سال از عمر خود بوی بخشیدند ووی صحت یافت ودوازده سال زندکانی کرد

چهارم طایفه امرا وسرهنکان وسپهسالاران را در مجلس خود اورن دادم وبمراتب علیا سر بلند داشتم وبا ایشان صحبت داشته سخنان می پریدم

وارباب شجاعت را که بارها شمشیرها زده بودند دوست داشتم واز رزم ودر آمدن وبر آمدن در معارک ومهالک وشکستن صفها وحرب وضرب وچپغولشها

REGULATIONS. By the TWELVE CLASSES I rendered ſtrong and permanent the baſis and ſuperſtructure of my government; and I conſidered thoſe Claſſes as the twelve months, and as the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, predominating over the concerns of my empire.

THE FIRST CLASS. I granted admiſſion to the deſcendants of the prophet, and to theologians, and to doctors learned in the laws, and to holy men. And they reſorted at all times to my palace, and they beautified and adorned my imperial aſſembly by their preſence. And they converſed on ſacred knowledge, and on government, and on wiſdom: and to them I propoſed queſtions concerning thoſe things which were lawful, and thoſe which were forbidden.

THE SECOND CLASS. Perſons of wiſdom, and deliberation, and vigilance, and circumſpection, and aged men endowed with knowledge and foreſight, I admitted to my private councils: and I aſſociated with them, and I reaped benefit, and acquired experience from their converſation.

THE THIRD CLASS. I revered devout and pious men; and I implored their prayers in the hour of retirement: and I ſupplicated their bleſſings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and

in

استوار ساختم          تزوک مرتبه

سلطنت وقواعد سلطنت خودرا بدوازده طایفه مربوط ومضبوط ساختم واین دوازده طایفه را بمنزله دوازده برج فلک ودوازده ماه کارخانه سلطنت خود قرار دادم

اول طایفه     سادات وعلما مشایخ وفضلا را بخود راه دادم وهمیشه ببارگاه من آمد شد می نمودند ومجلس مرا بزیب وزینت نگاه می داشتند ومسایل علوم دینی وحکمی وعقلی مذکور می ساختند ومسایل حلال وحرام از ایشان استفسار مینمودم

طایفه دویم     عقلا واصحاب کنکاش وارباب حزم واحتیاط ومردم کهنه سال پیش بین را در مجلس خاص خودرا راه دادم وبایشان صحبت داشتم ونفع یافته تجربها حاصل میکردم

طایفه سیوم     ارباب دعارا گرامی داشتم ودر خلوت از ایشان دریوزه دعوات کرده مدعیان خودرا استدعا مینمودم ودر مجالس ومحافل وبزم ورزم از

" reſtricted to their proper ſtations, attend with due ſub-" miſſion thy commands. And reſtrain thou every " people and every tribe under thy dominion within their " proper limits: that thy empire may be eſtabliſhed on " the baſis of regularity and good order.

" BUT if thou regardeſt not the due ar-" rangement of thy concerns, and attendeſt not to the " juſt ſubordination of thy people, corruption, and vio-" lence, and diſorders ſhall find their way into every de-" partment of thy government. Be it therefore thy care " to watch over and confine thy people, and thy concerns, " within the limits of ſubordination and good order.

" AND thou ſhall exalt the ſacred poſterity " of the prophet above all other ranks of thy people; " and thou ſhalt revere and honour them, and thou ſhalt " not conſider the greateſt inſtances of liberality, which " thy love for them ſhall call forth, as the effects of pro-" fuſion. We cannot be profuſe in our offerings to Al-" mighty Cod. Regulate and govern thou thy empire by " the TWELVE SELECT CLASSES; and farewell."

WHEN I received this letter from my PEER, I acted in obedience to all which he had commanded, and I gave order and connexion to the different departments of empire; and I ornamented and beautified my power by regulations and laws: and I made my authority durable by the TWELVE CLASSES.

مرتبه خود بوده منتظر حکم تو باشند وهر طایفه وهر قوم را در مرتبهء ایشان بدار تا مرتبه سلطنت تو بنظام وانتظام در آید

واگر حفظ مراتب هرچیز وهرکس نکني بسي خلل وفساد در امور سلطنت راه یابد پس تراست که پایه قدر ومنزله هرچیز وهرکس نگاهداري

ومرتبه آل محمدرا از جمیع مراتب برتر داري وتعظیم واحترام ایشان بجا آري وافراط را در محبت ایشان اسراف نداني که هرچه از براي خدا باشد در آن اسراف نباشد به دوازده طایفه سلطنت خودرا آراسته وپراسته بدار والسلام

چون این نامه پیر من بمن رسید هرچه فرموده بودند بجا آوردم ومراتب سلطنت خودرا نسق وانتظام دادم ومرتبه سلطنت خودرا به توره وتزوک زیب وزینت بخشیدم وبدوازده طایفه سلطنت خودرا

استوار

THIRDLY, I never gave way to the thirſt of revenge, nor did I ever ſatiate my reſentment on any one. Thoſe who had injured me, I delivered over to the juſtice of the Almighty.

I retained in my ſervice warriors of approved valour, and ſoldiers of tried experience. And I admitted to my ſociety men of exalted lineage, and the poſterity of the prophet, and theologians, and doctors learned in the law. And the ſeditious, and the wicked, and the inglorious I drove far from my preſence.

FOURTHLY, I drew to me the obedience of the people of God by complacency, and by mercy, and by indulgence. And I ever adhered to equity and juſtice; and I retired far from cruelty and oppreſſion.

AT this time my PEER wrote unto me, ſaying, "Be it known to Abu'l Munſour Timour (on whom "be the bleſſing of Almighty God) that the different "offices in an earthly empire are ſymbols of thoſe in the "empire of thy creator; in which there are labourers, "and agents, and deputies, and chamberlains; and they "are all buſied and occupied in their own proper departments, and they ſeek not to over-leap the bounds allotted "them; and they wait in perpetual obedience to the "will of the Lord.

"THEREFORE, thou muſt be watchful, "that thy vizzeers, and thy ſoldiers, and thy labourers, "and thy ſervants, and thy officers, being each of them

سیوم در مقــام انتقام هیچکس نشدم
وانتقام نکشیدم وبد کنندکان خودرا به پروردکار
سپردم

ارباب شجاعت ومردان کارکردهء ازموده
نکاهداشتم ومــردم اصیل وسادات وعلماي وفضلا را
بخود راه دادم واشرار وبد نفسان ولیمــان را از
مجلس خود رانــدم

چــهارم بکشاده رويء ورحـم وشفقت
خــلــق خــدارا بخود رام کردم وبعدالت کرویدم
واز ظلم وجور دوري کزیدم

درین وقت پیر من بمن نوشت که ابو
المنصور تیمور ایده الله تعالي را معلوم باد که کارخانه
سلطنت نمونــهء از کارخــانه آلهي است که در آن
عمله وفعله ونابیان وحجاب اند وهریک در مرتبه خود
بکار خود مشغول اند واز مرتبه خود تجاوز نمیکنند
ومنتظر امر آلهي مي باشند

پس ترا احتیاط باید که وزرا ولشکریان
وعمــالان وکارکنان وسپهسالاران هریــک در حد
مرتبه

companions of that holy legiſlator; and by regulations 
and by order I ſo ſecured my regal authority, that no one had the power to interpoſe in my government.

SECONDLY, I kept my ſoldiers and my ſubjects ſuſpended between hope and fear; and conducting myſelf towards my friends and my enemies with gentleneſs and with humanity, I either over-looked or patiently bore with their words and their actions.

WHOEVER, whether friends or enemies, fled unto me for protection; if they were friends, I treated them in ſuch ſort as tended to increaſe their friendſhip; and if they were enemies, I ſo conducted myſelf towards them that their enmity was ſpeedily converted into affection.

WHOEVER had a demand upon me, I attempted not to diminiſh the value thereof: and thoſe whom I perſonally knew, I threw not forth from my preſence.

AND whoever, from the firſt ſhining forth of my fortune and power, had ſought my protection, whether worthy or unworthy, whether their conduct towards me had been good or evil, when I aſcended the throne of empire, I cauſed them to bluſh by my bounty and kindneſs; and I conſidered as undone the evil which they had done unto me, and I drew the pen of oblivion over the regiſter of their actions.

THIRDLY,

آنحضرت استوار داشتم وحفظ مرتبه سلطنت خود بتوره وتزوک چنان کردم که احدي را ياراي نبود که در سلطنت من دخل تواند کرد

دوم سپاه ورعيت را در مرتبه اميد وبيم نکاهداشتم ودوست ودشمن را در مرتبه مروت ومدارا داشته کردار وکفتار ايشانـــرا به تحمل وتغافل در کذرانيدم

وهرکس از دوست ودشمن که التجا بمن آوردند دوستان را در مرتبـه نکاهداشتم که بر دوستي خود افزودند وبا دشمنان بمرتبهء سلوک نمودم که دشمني را بدوستي مبدل ساختند

وهرکسرا بر من حقي بود حق ويـرا ضايـع نساختم وهرکسرا بروي شناختم ويـرا از نظر نينـداختـم

وهرکس از اوان طلوع دولت وسلطنت من بمن التجا آورده بودند از نيکو کار وبد کردار خـواه بمن نيکي کرده بودند خواه بدي چون بر تخـت سلطنت نشستم ايشانرا شرمنده احسان خـود ساخـتـم وبدبهاي که بمن کرده بودند نا کرده انکاشتم وقلم عفو بر جريده اعمال ايشان کشيدم

سيوم

AND the Letter itſelf I ſent unto my PEER, who wrote thus on the border of that Letter. "Be it "known to Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, the promoter of "the faith, the eſtabliſher of the laws (with whom be "the protection of Almighty God) that this is a bleſſing "extraordinary, and a mercy inconceivable, which the "omnipotent creator hath vouchſafed to thee, the axis of "empire, in appointing thee the re-eſtabliſher of the "faith, and the ſupporter of the ſacred laws. Encreaſe "thou the number of thy good actions, that thy benevo-"lent creator may encreaſe his mercies unto thee!"

WHEN the epiſtle, bearing the ſubſcription of my PEER, was returned unto me, I reverenced and reſpected the poſterity of the prophet, and the teachers of the doctrine of Iſlaum; and in enforcing the ſacred laws I exerted myſelf more than before. And I commanded that the ſubſtance of the letter ſhould be inſerted in the regiſter of my tranſactions.

WHEN I re-eſtabliſhed the faith and the holy laws, I then began to form my civil regulations; and by law and by order I ſtrengthened my government. And the regulations for giving ſtability to my government, I formed in this manner.

FIRST, I kept firm the foundation of my power by the true religion, and by the laws of the prophet, and by the love of the deſcendants and venerable compa-

ومکتوب را بجنس نزد پیر خود فرستادم
ایشان بر حاشیه همان مکتوب نوشتند که مروج
الدین والشریعت تیمور صاحب قران ایده الله تعالي
معلوم نماید که این موهبتي است عظمي وتاییدي
است کبري که آن قطب السلطنت را الله تعالي
توفیق تجدید دین ورواج شریعت ارزاني داشته
بیفزا تا بیفزایند

چون مکتوب موشح بخط پیر من بمن
رسید تعظیم واحترام سادات وعلماي اسلام بجا آوردم
ودر رواج شریعت پیشتر از پیشتر سعي کردم وامر
کردم که صورت این مکتوب را در دفتر وقایع من
ثبت نمایند

چون تزوک دین وشریعت کردم شروع
در تزک کارخانه سلطنت خود نمودم وبه توره وتزوک
مراتب سلطنت خود نکاهداشتم تزک نکاهداشت
مراتب سلطنت خودرا برین نهج کردم
اول قواعد سلطنت خودرا بدین اسلام
وشریعت خیر الانام ومحبت آل واصحاب واجب الاحترام
آنحضرت

"WHEN this declaration of the Sooltaun reached the ears of the people, thoſe of the poſterity of the prophet immediately granted their conſent. Having thus obtained their approbation of his authority, the Sooltaun ordained that agreeably to this regulation, the Khutbeh ſhould be pronounced from the pulpits in the names of each of the ſucceſſors of the prophet, and that their names alſo ſhould be impreſſed on the coins of the empire.

"THE eccleſiaſtical decree which the theologians promulgated on this occaſion, and to which they ſubſcribed their aſſent, is as follows, "Aljauetoo Sooltaun "is the ſupporter of the faith, and the reſtorer of the "laws."

"IN this the eighth century AMEER SAUHIBA KURRAUN IS THE SUPPORTER OF OUR SACRED RELIGION; ſince he hath revived and encouraged obedience to the holy laws in the different cities and nations of the earth, hath protected and reverenced the poſterity of the prophet of God, and with their aſſent and approbation hath aſſumed dominion over the empire of Mahummud."

WHEN the letter of Meer Siud Shureef came unto me, I offered up thanks to Almighty God, and I invoked the holy Mahummud and the deſcendants of Mahummud, that I might obtain their guidance and ſupport in promoting our holy faith and in eſtabliſhing the laws.

چون کلمات سلطان بمسامع خاص
وعام رسید همه علما ازعان نمودند بعد ازعان علما
سلطان امر نمود که چون حقیقت برین منوال است
باید که خطبه تمام اهل بیت بخوانند وسکه بنام
ایشان بر زنند

وانچه علما درین وقت فتوی نوشته ازعان
نموده اند این است که الجایتو سلطان مروج دین
وشریعت اند

در سر مایهء هشتم امیر صاحب قران است
که در امصار واقطار عالم شریعت را رواج داده وسادات
وعلمارا اعزاز واحترام نموده وباذن ذریت آل رسول الله
در ملک او تصرف کرده اند

چون مکتوب میر سید شریف بمن
رسید تنکری تعالی را شکر گفتم وبمحمد وآل
محمد التجا بردم که مرا توفیق تجدید دین
وشریعت حاصل آید

ومکتوب را

religions which they eſtabliſhed were not adapted to all times and to all ſituations. On the contrary, the religion of Mahummud (the peace of God be upon him) will continue, without change or abolition, to the end of time. Book II.

"IT is the duty therefore of the followers of our holy prophet, who in their prayers reſpectfully mention his name, to include his deſcendants alſo: that it may be known to the people that they are the ſupporters of the religion of Mahummud, the expounders of the divine revelations, the guardians of the holy law, and the heirs of the prophets and apoſtles: that the knowledge of the true religon and the divine ordinances of Iſlaum may be perpetuated by them, and that obedience and reſpect to the deſcendants of the prophet may be conſidered as an indiſputable and important duty.

"WHEN the Sooltaun had concluded, the people who were collected together in the Musjid, inſtantly and with one voice, offered up their benedictions in favour of the prophet and his ſacred deſcendants.

"THE Sooltaun proceeded thus. "Since Aali has been acknowledged to be the firſt, and Mahummud Mehdi the laſt, of the ſucceſſors and immediate deſcendants of the prophet, it cannot be lawful for me to aſſume authority over the dominions of the holy Mahummud without the aſſent of his and their poſterity; ſince by ſo doing I ſhould be an uſurper."

احکام دین ایشان علی الدوام لازم نبود
بخلاف دین محمدي صلي الله علیه وسلم که تا
قیامت تغیر وتبدیل در آن راه نخواهد یافت

پس بر متابعان آنحضرت لازم باشد که
در صلوات بهتابعت نام مبارک آنحضرت را ذکر میکنند
اولادرا نیز ذکر کنند تا بر امت معلوم شود که
حامیان دین محمدي ومفسران وحي آلهي وحافظان
شریعت احمدي ایشانند ووراث علوم انبیا ومرسلین
اند وعلوم دین وفرایض اسلام از ایشان فرا کیرند
ومتابعت وحرمت ایشانرا از لوازم شمارند

چون سلطان این کلمات را بر زبان راند
خلایقي که در مسجد جمع آمده بودند بیک مرتبه
زبان بصلوات پیغمبر وآل پیغمبر کشادند

آنکاه سلطان کفت که چون اول آل
محمد علي وآخر ایشان محمد محمدي موعود است
پس مارا است که در ملک محمد بدون اذن
اولادش تصرف ننمایم واکر نمایم غاصب
باشم

چون

" SEVERAL of the doctors ſaid, that Immaum Shaufeï had declared, that the ſacred ſervice unattended by the uſual benedictions on Mahummud and his poſterity, were impious. Others acknowledged, that Immaum a Aazum had pronounced the prayers, in which the uſual petitions in behalf of Mahummud and his poſterity were omitted, to be void and of no effect.

" HE then demanded of them, why, when they mentioned the prophet in their prayers, they included not his immediate deſcendants. The doctors of the law were unable to reply, and the Sooltaun proceeded.

" IN proof of the neceſſity of including the ſucceſſors and poſterity of the prophet in our prayers two arguments occur to me. Firſt, that as the wicked excluded the deſcendants and ſucceſſors of our holy lawgiver from the benefit of their benedictions, ſo Almighty God hath excluded them from the benefit of his protection, and hath cut off their poſterity from the face of the earth: for if any of their deſcendants remain, none know them, none regard them: whereas the poſterity of the prophet are increaſed to ſuch a degree, that no one except the Almighty knoweth their numbers, and thoſe in reſpect and obedience to the holy apoſtle (on whom be the bleſſing of God) ſtill offer up their prayers for his immediate deſcendants.

" SECONDLY, the religious rites and inſtitutions of all former prophets and meſſengers have been either altered or annulled; for the rules preſcribed by the

religions

ودرين وقت جمعي از علما كفتند كه
امام شافعي نمازرا بدون صلوات بر محمد وآل محمد
فاسد شمرده وجمعي كفتند كه امام اعظم فرمود
كه نمازي كه بصلوات بر محمد وآل محمد مقرون
نباشد مكروه است

آنكاه از علما سوال كرد كه چرا
بر هريك از آل وي در صلوات ذكر نميكنند ودر
صلوات بر خاتم انبيا ذكر ميكنند چون علما در
جواب فرو ماندند سلطان كفت

مرا در جواب اين سوال دو دليل بخاطر
ميرسند اول آنكه چون دشمنان ويرا ابتر خوانند
ايزد تعالي ابتري را بر ايشان انداخت كه نسل
ايشان منقطع شده واكر باشد هم ايشانرا كسي
نشناسد ونام نبرد وذريت آل پيغمبر آن قدر بهم رسيدند
كه تعداد ايشان را جز خداي تعالي ديكري نداند
ودر صلوات بمتابعت پيغمبر صلي الله عليه وسلم بر
ايشان درود ميفرستند

ديكر آنكه اديان جميع انبيا ورسل
وعمل ايشان در معرض نسخ وتبدل بود وامضاي
احكام

dred thoufand Toorks (fuch was the will of the Almighty) were at one time converted to the Mahummudan faith by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee in the plain of Laur; and joined in the facred exclamation, "There is no God but "God, and Mahummud is the Apoftle of God." Book II.

"AND Ghauzaun Khaun rooted out idolatry and herefy; and eftablifhed the holy laws amongft the furrounding nations.

"THE fupporter of the faith in the SEVENTH CENTURY was Aljauetoo Sooltaun, the fon of Arghoon Khaun, who was alfo named Sultaun Mahummud Khodau Bundeh. For when he fucceeded his brother Ghauzaun Khaun at the above period, and was informed that the duties of our holy religion were neglected to fuch a degree, that the people, after the profeffion of their faith, did not include the pofterity of Mahummud in their bleffings and benedictions on that holy prophet; he himfelf arofe and went forth to the imperial Musjid, and commanded the Theologians to be affembled before him.

"AND he demanded of the doctors of the law the caufe of this omiffion; and ordered them to deliver their fentiments concerning the propriety or impropriety of including the facred pofterity of the prophet in their prayers. They replied with one accord, that by the exprefs command of Almighty God the prayers of the faithful were due not only to the holy meffenger, but to his defcendants alfo.

شد الله تعالي غازان خانرا با صد هزار ترک بر انگیخت که همکي بیک مرتبه در صحراي لار بدست شیخ ابراهیم حموي ایمان آورده مسلمان شدند وزبان بکلمه لا اله الا الله ومحمد رسول الله گویا ساختند

واثار کفر وبدعت بر انداختند وشریعت را در بلاد وامصار رواج دادند

ودر سر مایه هفتم الجایتو سلطان بن ارغون خان است که ملقب بسلطان محمد خدابنده شد که در سنه مذکور بعد از برادرش غازان خان بر تخت سلطنت نشست وچون بمسامع وي رسید که دین محمدي بمرتبه ضعیف شده که در نماز بعد از تشهد صلوات بر محمد وبر آل محمد نمیفرستند خود برخاسته بمسجد جامع سلطانیه حاضر آمد وحکم باحضار علماي اسلام نمود

از فضایل در باب صلوات فرستادن بر پیغمبر وآل پیغمبر سوال نمود علما باتفاق گفتند که بحکم خداي تعالي صلوات بر محمد وبر آل محمد باید فرستاد

ودرین

"And the ſupporter of the faith in the SECOND CENTURY was Maumoon ul Ruſheed. For he abrogated and annulled ſeventy two pernicious and unorthodox tenets, and eſtabliſhed the true rites and ceremonies on the faith of the Sunna, and on the ſacred traditions. And he called Aali, the ſon of Mooſi Jauſir (on whom be the bleſſing of God) from Khorauſaun; and appointed him ſucceſſor to the Immaumut, and with his conſent took poſſeſſion of the government.

"And in the THIRD CENTURY Mocktaudir Billau Ubbauſi was the promoter of the faith. For when the ſect of the Kuraumuteh, headed by Abou Tauhir, ſeized the holy city of Mecca, and martyred 30,000 pilgrims on mount Auruffaut; when that impious chief cauſed the Black Stone to be torn from the corner of the ſacred Caaba, deſolated the cities of Iſlaum, and plundered and ſlaughtered the inhabitants (by which a mighty blow was given to our holy religion) Mocktaudir Billau drew forth his armies againſt that abandoned ſect, and extirpated them from the face of the earth: and thus ſupported and defended the laws and the faith of Iſlaum.

"And in the FOURTH CENTURY Azzud u Dowla Delumi was the ſupporter of the religion of Mahummud, on whom be God's peace and bleſſing. For when, on

ودر سر مايهء دوم مجدد دين مامون
الرشيد است كه هفتاد دو مذاهب باطله را بر طرف
ومنسوخ ساخته مذهب بر حق سنت وجماعت را رواج
داد وعلي ابن موسي جعفر را رضي الله عنهم از
خراسان طلب نمود ووبرا ولي عهد كردانيد وباذن
وي در مملكت تصرف مي نمود

ودر سر مايهء سيوم مروج دين محمدي
صلي الله عليه وسلم مقتدر بالله عباسي است كه
چون قوم قرامطه كه ربس ايشان ابو طاهر بود بر مكه
معظمه مستولي شد وسي هزار محرم را در روز عرفه
قتل نموده بدرجه شهادت رسانيد وحجر الاسود را
از اركان خانه كعبه بركند وبلاد اسلام خراب كرده
قتل وغارت مينمود وبدين جهت دين اسلام ضعيف
شد مقتدر بالله بر آن قوم لشكر كشيد وايشانرا
برانداخت ودين اسلام وشريعت را رواج داد

ودر سر مايهء چهارم از مروجان دين محمدي
صلي الله عليه وسلم عضد الدوله ديلمي است كه
چون

for the promulgation and reſtoration of the religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him); and as in the eighth century AMEER SAUHIBA KURRAUN† hath reſtored the purity of the holy laws, he therefore muſt be THE RESTORER OF THE RELIGION OF MAHUMMUD. Book II.

AND Meer Siud Shurreef, the moſt reſpectable of the doctors of the age, wrote unto me on this ſubject, ſaying, 'The holy men of all ages have agreed, 'that in every century from the days of the prophet, 'Almighty God hath ſent forth a propagator of the faith, 'for the purpoſe of promulgating the religion of Ma-'hummud (God's peace be upon him): and ſince in the 'beginning of this the eighth century, Ameer Sauhiba 'Kurraun, hath propagated the laws of the holy pro-'phet, and the true religion hath been diffuſed through-'out the different cities and kingdoms of the earth; 'it is apparent that Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun is the true 'promoter and ſupporter of the faith.' And the Letter is this.

"O God aſſiſt thou the promoter of the religion of thy prophet, and abandon thou the deſerter of the faith of Mahummud.

"SINCE from the time of the Hijrut of the great and holy apoſtle down to the preſent period 800 years have elapſed, and ſince the pure and omnipotent

† *Sauhiba Kurraun* is a royal title firſt aſſumed by Timour. It literally ſignifies *Lord of the Conjunction*; it being ſaid, that there was a fortunate conjunction of planets at his birth.

Creator

وتجديد دين محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم بر
مي انكيزد ودرين صد هشتم تجديد دين را
امير صاحب قران نموده پس مجدد دين محمدي
ايشان باشند

ومير سيد شريف كه از فحول علماي
زمان بود درين باب مكتوبي بمن نوشت —— كه
اتفاق علماي خلف وسلف برين رفته كه در سر
هر صد سال از حضرت رسالت پناه الله تعالي از براي
رواج دين محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم مجددي
مي انكيزد وچون درين سر صد هشتم امير
صاحب قران دين متين را رواج داده اند ودر اقطار
وامصار عالم دين واسلام رواج يافته بتحقيق رسيد كه
مروج دين امير صاحب قران است وصورت مكتوب
اينست

كه اللهم انصره من نصر دين محمد
واخذل من خذل دين محمد
چون از زمان هجرت حضرت رسالت
پناه الي يومنا هذا هشت صد سال كذشته ودر سر
هر

and kingdom an inftructor in the law, to deter the faithful from thofe things which are forbidden, and to lead them in the truth. Book II.

And I commanded that they fhould build places of worfhip and monafteries in every city; and that they fhould erect ftructures for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and that they fhould make bridges acrofs the rivers.

And I appointed ecclefiaftics and religious teachers in every city, to inftruct the followers of Iflaum in the abftrufe and fundamental principles of our holy law; and to preach to them the doctrines of religion, with the holy traditions, and the facred commentaries upon them.

And I ordered that the fuddur † and the judge, from time to time, fhould lay before me all the ecclefiaftical affairs of my empire; and I appointed a judge in equity, that he might tranfmit unto me all civil matters of litigation, that came to pafs amongft my troops and my fubjects.

When I had regulated all religious concerns, and had promoted the progrefs of the facred tenets throughout the cities of Iflaum; and when the rumour of the promulgation of the true faith had reached the ears of all ranks of the faithful; the doctors of our holy faith publifhed a decree — That as Almighty God in each century had fent a promoter and propagator of the faith,

† Or *Sedr*: fee note on p. 177.

 for

شیخ الاسلامی فرستادم که اهل اسلام از معاصی باز دارد وامر معروف نماید

وامر کردم که در هر شهری مساجد وخانقاهها تعمیر نمایند وبر سر راهها رباطات بنا کنند وبر نهرها پل بر بندند

وعلما ومدرسان بهر شهری تعین کردم که اهل اسلام را مسایل دینی وعقاید شرعی تعلیم دهند وعلم دین از تفسیر وحدیث وفقه بمسلمانان درس گویند

وامر نمودم که صدر وقاضی مهمات شرعی ممالک محروسه را بعرض من میرسانیده باشند وامیر عدل تعین نمودم که مرافعات عرفی سپاه ورعیت را بعرض رساند

چون تزوک دین نمودم ودر بلاد اسلام شریعت را رواج دادم وچون اوازه رواج دین واسلام بمسامع صغار وکبار اهل اسلام رسید علمای اسلام فتوی نوشتند —— که چون الله تعالی در هر صد سال مروجی ومجددی از برای رواج وتجدید

every tranſaction that came before me in the courſe of my government. Book II.

And the firſt regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true faith, and the ſupport of the ſacred tenets of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him). And I encouraged the progreſs of the holy laws and the religion of Iſlaum through all the cities, and the provinces, and the kingdoms of the earth; and I adorned my empire by the ſacred laws.

Thus I regulated the promulgation of the true faith. I appointed a man of holineſs, † and of illuſtrious dignity, to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times, and appoint ſuperiors in holy offices; and eſtabliſh in every city and in every town a judge of penetration, and a doctor learned in the ſacred law, and a ſuperviſor of the markets, of the weights and of the meaſures: and that he might ordain penſions and ſalaries for the deſcendants of the prophet, and for ſuperior eccleſiaſtics, and for holy men, and for men of knowledge.

And I eſtabliſhed a judge for the army and a judge for the ſubjects: and I ſent into every province

abſolute management of church lands, and what revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public ſchools, ſalaries to learned men, and other pious uſes.

آمد بتوره وتزوک آن کاررا انجام میدادم

واول تزوک که از مشرق دلم سرزد
رواج دين وتقويت شريعت محمدي بود صلي الله
عليه وسلم ودر ممالک واقطار وامصار عالم دين اسلام
وشريعت خير الانام را رواج دادم وسلطنت خودرا
بشريعت آراسته ساختم

تزوک رواج دين مبين چنين کردم که
يکي از سادات ذي قدررا بصدارت اهل اسلام مقرر
کردم که ضبط اوقات نمايد ومتوليان تعيين کند
وبهر شهري وبلدي اقضي القضات ومفتي ومحتسب
معين سازد وسيورغال ووظايف از براي سادات وعلما
ومشايخ وارباب استحقاق گرداند

وقاضي از براي عسکر وقاضي
از براي رعيت نصب نمودم وبهر مملکتي

† The man appointed to fill the ſtation mentioned in the original, is called *Sedr.* He is a perſon of great authority in the empire, who has the abſolute

شيخ

And the ſoldier, who forgot his duty and his honour, and in the hour of action turned his face from his maſter, and came in unto me, I conſidered as the moſt deteſtable of men.

And in the war with Touktummiſh Khaun, his Ameers forgot their duty to Touktummiſh, who was their maſter and my foe, and ſent propoſals and wrote letters unto me. And I uttered execrations upon them; becauſe unmindful of that which they owed to their lord, they had thrown aſide their honour and their duty, and come in unto me. I ſaid unto myſelf, What fidelity have they obſerved to their liege lord? What fidelity will they ſhew unto me?

And, behold, it was known unto me by experience, that every empire, which is not eſtabliſhed in morality and religion, nor ſtrengthened by regulations and laws, from that empire all order, grandeur and power ſhall paſs away. And that empire may be likened unto a naked man, who, when expoſed to view, commandeth the eye of modeſty to be covered: and it is like unto a houſe, which hath neither roof, nor gates, nor defences; into which, whoever willeth, may enter unmoleſted.

Therefore, I eſtabliſhed the foundation of my empire on the morality and the religion of Iſlaum; and by regulations, and laws I gave it ſtability. And by laws and by regulations, I executed every buſineſs and

every

وآن سپاهي که حق نمک ووفا داري را
فراموش کرد ووقت کار از صاحب خود رو گردان
شد ونزد من آمد ويرا دشمنترين مردم دانستم

ودر جنک توقتمش خان امراي وي
بمن پيغامها کردند وعرايض نوشتند وحق نمک
توقتمش خان را که صاحب ايشان ودشمن من بود
فراموش کردند بر ايشان نفرين کردم که حق ولي
نعمت خودرا فراموش کرده حقيقت ووفارا بر کوشه
نهاده اند ونزد من آمدند با خود کفتم که با مربي
خود چه وفا کردند که با من خواهند کرد

وچون بتجربه من رسيد که هر دولتي
که به ديني وآييني قايم نباشد وبتوره وتزوک استوار
نبود شکوه وسطوت وبند وبست از آن سلطنت برخيزد
وآن سلطنت مثل مردي برهنه باشد که هرکس ويرا
به بيند چشم بپوشد وچون خانه باشد که سقف
ودر ودربند نداشته باشد وکس ناکس در آن داخل
توانند شد

بدين جهت بناي سلطنت خودرا به
دين وآيين اسلام وبه توره وتزوک استحکام دادم
وواقعات واموري که مرا در سلطنت پيش مي
آمد

ELEVENTHLY, my children, and my relations, and my aſſociates, and my neighbours, and ſuch as had been connected with me, † all theſe I diſtinguiſhed in the days of my fortune and proſperity, and I paid unto them their due. And with reſpect to my family, I rent not aſunder the bands of conſanguinity and mercy; and I iſſued not commands to ſlay them, or to bind them with chains. ‡

AND I dealt with every man, whatever the judgment I had formed of him, according to my own opinion of his worth. As I had ſeen much of proſperity and adverſity, and had acquired knowledge and experience, I conducted myſelf with caution, and with policy, towards my friends and towards my enemies.

TWELFTHLY, ſoldiers, whether aſſociates or adverſaries, I held in eſteem; thoſe who ſell their permanent happineſs to periſhable honour, and throw themſelves into the field of ſlaughter and battle, and hazard their lives in the hour of danger.

AND the man, who drew his ſword on the ſide of my enemy, and committed hoſtilities againſt me, and preſerved his fidelity to his maſter, him I greatly honoured; and when ſuch a man came unto me, knowing his worth, I claſſed him with my faithful aſſociates; and I reſpected and valued his fidelity and his attachment.

‡ This obſervation is ſtrictly conſiſtent with his conduct: for though ſeveral of his relations, and ſome of his children, at different times rebelled againſt him, he ever ſubſtituted *pardon* in the place of *puniſhment*.

AND

یازدهم فرزندان وخویشان وآشنایان وهمسایکان وکسانی که با من آشنایی داشتند ایشانرا در وقت دولت ونعمت بنواختم وحق ایشان را ادا کردم وبا فرزندان وخویشان قطع صلهء رحم ننمودم وبکشتن وبستن ایشان امر نکردم

وهر کسرا بهر طرزی شناخته بودم فراخور شناخت خود بسوی سلوک نمودم چون کرم وسرد روزکار بسیار دیدم وتجربها برداشتم با دوست ودشمن سازکاربها کردم

دوازدهم سپاه دوست ودشمن را عزیز داشتم که متاع باقی خودرا بمال فانی میفروشند ودر معارک ومهالک خودرا می اندازند وجان فشانی مینمایند

ومردی که از جانب دشمن با من خصمی کرد وشمشیر کشید ونسبت با ولی نعمت خود راسخ الاعتقاد بود ویرا بسیار دوست داشتم وچون نزد من آمد قدر ویرا دانسته معتهد خود ساختم وبوفا وحقیقت ویرا شناختم

† Timour appears to allude to thoſe perſons whom he knew in the days of his obſcurity.

TENTHLY, whatever tribe, and whatever hord, whether Toork or Taucheek, or Arrub or Ajjum, came in unto me, I received their chiefs with diſtinction and reſpect, and their followers I honoured according to their degrees and their ſtations. And to the good among them I did good, and the evil I delivered over to their evil actions. Book II.

AND whoever attached himſelf unto me, I forgot not the merit of his attachment, and I acted towards him with kindneſs and generoſity: and whoever had rendered me ſervices, I repaid the value of thoſe ſervices unto him. And whoever had been my enemy, and was aſhamed thereof, and flying to me for protection, humbled himſelf before me, I forgot his enmity; and I purchaſed him with liberality and kindneſs.

IN ſuch manner Share Behraum, the chief of a tribe, was along with me. And he left me in the hour of action, and he united with the enemy, and he drew forth his ſword againſt me. And at length my ſalt, which he had eaten, ſeized upon him; and he again fled to me for refuge, and humbled himſelf before me. As he was a man of illuſtrious deſcent, and of bravery, and of experience, I covered my eyes from his evil actions; and I magnified him, and I exalted him to a ſuperior rank; and I pardoned his diſloyalty in conſideration of his valou

دهم هر طايفه وهر قبيله از ترک وتاچک وعرب وعجم که بدولتخانه من در آمدند بزرگان ايشان را گرامي داشتم وساير ايشانرا فراخور احوال نوازش نمودم وبه نيکان ايشان نيکي کردم وبدان ايشانرا به بدي ايشان سپردم

وهر کس بمن دوستي کرد قدر دوستي ويرا فراموش نکردم وبوي مروت واحسان نمودم وهرکس خدمت من کرد حق خدمت ويرا ادا کردم وهر کس بمن دشمني کرد وپشيمان شده بمن التجا آورد وزانوزد دشمني ويرا فراموش کردم وبدوستي ومروت خريدار وي شدم

چنانچه شير بهرام امير الوس بمن همراه بود ودر وقت کار مرا گذاشت وبغنيم ملحق شد وبر من شمشير کشيد وآخر نمک من ويرا گرفت وباز بمن التجا آورد وزانوزد چون مردي بود اصيل ومردانه وکارکرده از کردارها بد وي چشم پوشيدم وويرا بنواختم وبر مرتبه وي افزودم وويرا بمردانکي وي بخشيدم

actions which tend to the destruction and overthrow of regal authority. And from cruelty and from oppression, which are the destroyers of posterity, and the bringers of famine and of plagues, I found it was good to abstain. Book II.

NINTHLY, the situation of my people was known unto me. And those who were great among them, I considered as my brethren; and I regarded the poor as my children. And I made myself acquainted with the tempers and the dispositions of the people of every country and of every city. And I contracted intimacies with the citizens, and the chiefs, and the nobles; and I appointed over them governors adapted to their manners, and their dispositions, and their wishes.

AND I knew the circumstances of the inhabitants of every province. And in every kingdom I appointed writers of intelligence, men of truth and integrity, that they might send me information of the conduct, and the behaviour, and the actions, and the manners, of the troops and of the inhabitants, and of every occurrence that might come to pass amongst them. And if I discovered ought contrary to their information, I inflicted punishment on the intelligencer; and every circumstance of cruelty and oppression in the governors, and in the troops, and in the inhabitants, which reached my ear, I chastised agreeably to justice and equity.

نهودم وانچه موجب زوال وانتقال دولت بود از آن اجتناب کردم واز ظلم وفسق که انقطاع نسل میکند وقحط ووبا می آرد احتراز لازم دانستم

نهم از احوال رعیت آگاه شدم وکلانان ایشان را بمنزله برادر وخوردان ایشان را بجاي فرزند دانستم وبر مزاج وطبایع هر ملک وهر شهر خودرا وافق ساختم وبه اهالي واکابر واشراف اشناي کردم وموافق مزاج وطبیعت وخواهش ایشان بر ایشان حاکم تعین نهودم

واز احوال اهالي هر دیار آگاه مي بودم واخبار نویسان راست قلم با دیانت در هر مملکت تعین کردم که کیفیت اطوار واوضاع واعمال وافعال سپاه ورعیت را وواقعي که در میان ایشان بوقوع آید بمن نویسند واگر خلاف انچه نوشته بودند بر من ظاهر مي شد اخبار نویسان را سیاست مي نهودم وانچه از ظلم وجور حاکم وسپاه ورعیت مي شنیدم تدارک آنرا بانصاف وعدالت مي کردم

دهم

men of courage and valour; for God Almighty loveth the brave. And I aſſociated with good and learned men; and I gained their affections, and I entreated their ſupport, and I ſought ſucceſs from their holy Prayers. And I loved the Derviſhes, and the poor; and I oppreſſed them not, neither did I exclude them from my favour. And I permitted not the evil and the malevolent to enter into my council; and I acted not by their advice: and I liſtened not to their inſinuations to the prejudice of others.

EIGHTHLY, I acted with reſolution; and on whatever undertaking I reſolved, I made that undertaking the only object of my attention: and I withdrew not my hand from that enterpriſe, until I had brought it to a concluſion. And I acted according to that which I ſaid. And I dealt not with ſeverity towards any one, and I was not oppreſſive in any of my actions; that God Almighty might not deal ſeverely towards me, nor render my own actions oppreſſive unto me.

AND I enquired of learned men into the laws and regulations of antient princes, from the days of Adam to thoſe of the prophet, and from the days of the Prophet down to this time. And I weighed their inſtitutions, and their actions, and their opinions, one by one. And from their approved manners, and their good qualities, I ſelected models. And I enquired into the cauſes of the ſubverſion of their power, and I ſhunned thoſe

actions

تنكري تعالي شجـاع را دوست ميدارد وبـا علما صحبت داشتم وبر دلهاي اصحاب قلوب رفتم واز ايشان دريوزه همت نمودم واز انفاس متبركه ايشان التماس فـاتحـه كردم ودرويشان وفقرا را دوست داشتم وايشان را آزرده ومحروم نساختم واشرار وبدكويانرا در مجلس خود راه ندادم وبسخن ايشان عمل نكردم وبدكويء ايشان را در حق هيچكس نشنيدم

هشتم بعزيمت عمل كردم وبر هر كاري كه عازم مي شدم همان كار پيش نهاد همت خود ميساختم وتا باتمام نميرسانيدم دست از آن كار باز نميداشتم وبر كفتار خود عامل مي بودم وبر هيچكس سخت نكرفتم وهيچ كاري را به تنكي نكردم تا تنكري تعالي بر من سخت نكيرد وكار من بر من تنك نسازد

وقوانين وسيرت سلاطين كذشته را از آدم تا خاتم واز خاتم تا اين دم از دانايان پرسش نمودم وسلوك ومعاش وافعال واقوال يكان يكان را بخاطر آوردم واز اخلاق حسنه وصفات پسنديده ايشان نسخه برداشتم وسبب زوال دولتهاي ايشان پرسش نمودم

paſſed that ſentence which truth required: and by benevolence I gained a place in the hearts of men; and by rewards and puniſhments I kept both my troops and my ſubjects divided between hope and fear. And I compaſſionated the lower ranks of my people, and thoſe who were diſtreſſed. And I gave gifts to the ſoldiers. Book II.

AND I delivered the oppreſſed from the hand of the oppreſſor; and after proof of the oppreſſion, whether on the property or the perſon, the deciſion which I paſſed between them was agreeable to the ſacred law. And I did not cauſe any one perſon to ſuffer for the guilt of another. †

THOSE who had done me injuries, who had attacked my perſon in battle, and had counteracted my ſchemes and enterpriſes, when they threw themſelves on my mercy, I received them with kindneſs; I conferred on them additional honours, and I drew the pen of oblivion over their evil actions. And I treated them in ſuch ſort, that if ſuſpicion remained in their hearts, it was plucked out entirely.

SEVENTHLY, I ſelected out, and treated with eſteem and veneration, the poſterity of the Prophet, and the Theologians, and the Teachers of the true Faith, and the Philoſophers, and the Hiſtorians. And I loved

† In this obſervation he alludes to a too frequent cuſtom of the Eaſt, of involving the whole family and connections of an attainted perſon in the ſame puniſhment with the guilty ſubject.

men

کردم وحکم بر حق کردم وباحسان در دلهاي خلق مقام نهودم وبسیاست وانصاف سپاه ورعیت مرا در میانه امید وبیم نکاهداشتم وبر رعایا وزبر دستان ترحم کردم وبسپاه انعام دادم

وداد مظلوم از ظالم کرفتم وبعد از اثبات ظلم مالي وبدني موافق شرع در میانه ایشان محاکمه نهودم وبکناه دیکري دیکري را نکرفتم

وکساني که بمن بدیها کرده بر من شمشیرها کشیده بودند ودر کار من شکستها رسانیده بودند چون بمن آنجا آوردند اعزاز ایشان نموده بر مرتبه ایشان افزودم وبر کردارهاي بد ایشان قلم نسیان کشیدم وبنوعي بایشان سلوک نهودم که اکر خدشه در خاطر ایشان بود بالکلیه محو شد

هفتم سادات وعلما ومشایخ وعقلا ومحدثین اخباررا برکزیده داشتم ونعظیم واحترام ایشان نهودم وارباب شجاعت را دوست داشتم چه نکري

chiefs, and my generals, and my warriors, by the edge of the ſword I obtained poſſeſſion of the thrones of ſeven and twenty kings; and became the king and the ruler of the kingdoms of Eraun and of Tooraun; and of Room, and of Mughrib, and of Shaum; and of Miſſur, and of Erauk-a-Arrub, and of Ajjum; and of Mauzinduraun, and of Kylaunaut; and of Shurvaunaut, and of Azzurbaucjaun; and of Fauris, and of Khorauſaun; and of the Duſht of Jitteh, and the Duſht of Kipchauk; and of Khauruzm, and of Khuttun, and of Kaubooliſtaun; and of Hindoſtaun, and of Baukhtur Zemeen.

And when I cloathed myſelf in the robe of empire, I ſhut my eyes to ſafety, and to the repoſe which is found on the bed of eaſe. And from the twelfth year of my age I travelled over countries, and combated difficulties, and formed enterpriſes, and vanquiſhed armies; and experienced mutinies amongſt my officers and my ſoldiers, and was familiarized to the language of diſobedience; (and I oppoſed them with policy and with fortitude) and I hazarded my perſon in the hour of danger; until in the end I vanquiſhed kingdoms and empires, and eſtabliſhed the glory of my name.

Sixthly, by juſtice and equity I gained the affections of the people of God; and I extended my clemency to the guilty as well as to the innocent; and I

واتفاق امرا وسپهسالاران وبهادران بضرب شمشیر تختگاه بیست وهفت پادشاه را مسخر ساختم ودر ممالک ایران وتوران وروم ومغرب وشام ومصر وعراق عرب وعجم ومازندران وگیلانات وشروانات واذربایجان وفارس وخراسان ودشت جته ودشت قپچاق وخوارزم وختن وکابلستان وباختر زمین وهندوستان پادشاه شدم وفرمان فرما گشتم

وچون جامهء سلطنت در پوشیدم از عافیت وغنودن بر بستر راحت چشم پوشیدم واز دوازده سالگي قترها زدم ومحنتها کشیدم وتدبیرها کردم وفوجها شکستم واز امرا وسپاه نفاقها دیدم وسخنان تلخ شنیدم وبتحمل وتغافل گذرانیدم وبذات خود شمشیرها زدم تا آنکه بر ولایات وممالک مسلط شدم ونامور گشتم

ششم به عدالت وانصاف خلق خدارا از خود راضي داشتم وبر گناه کار وبي گناه رحم کردم

Book II.

THIRDLY, by conſultation, and deliberation, and provident meaſures; by caution, and by vigilance I vanquiſhed armies, and I reduced kingdoms to my authority. And I carried on the buſineſs of my empire by complying with times and occaſions, and by generoſity, and by patience, and by policy; † and I acted with courteouſneſs towards my friends and towards my enemies.

FOURTHLY, by order and by diſcipline I regulated the concerns of my government; and by diſcipline and by order I ſo firmly eſtabliſhed my authority, that the Ameers, and the Vizzeers, and the ſoldiers, and the ſubjects, could not aſpire beyond their reſpectivè degrees; and every one of them was the keeper of his own ſtation.

FIFTHLY, I gave encouragement to my Ameers and to my ſoldiers, and with money and with jewels I made them glad of heart; and I permitted them to come into the banquet; and in the field of blood they hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my gold nor my ſilver. And I educated and trained them to arms; and to alleviate their ſufferings, I myſelf ſhared in their labours, and in their hardſhips; until, with the arm of fortitude and reſolution, and with the unanimity of my

*inattention or negligence*, or *pretending* not to ſee or diſcover ſuch things as it would be improper, or impolitical, to take notice of.

آراسته ساختم

سیوم آنکه بمشاورت وکنکاش وتدبیرات وحزم واحتیاط فوجهارا شکستم وملکهارا مسخر خود ساختم وامور سلطنت خودرا بمدارا ومروت وتحمل وتغافل از پیش بردم وبدوستان وبدشمنان مدارا نمودم

چهارم به توره وبه تزوک کارخانه سلطنت خودرا بند وبست نمودم وبه توره وبه تزوک خودرا بمرتبه قایم نگاهداشتم که امرا ووزرا وسپاه ورعیت از مرتبه خود تجاوز نتوانستند نمود وهریک حافظ مرتبه خود مي بودند

پنجم امرا وسپاه خودرا باولي* دادم وایشان را بزر وزیور خوشدل ساختم ودر بزمها اورن دادم ودر رزمها جانفشاني کردند ودرم ودینار را از ایشان دریغ نداشتم وبجهت آساني کارهاي ایشان محنت ومشقت ایشان را خود بر میداشتم وتربیت ایشان مینمودم تا آنکه ببازوي مردي ومردانکي

† The word which I have rendered *policy*, cannot be tranflated into the Englifh language with any degree of force or energy. It fignifies *political inattention*

واتفاق

AND let them make theſe regulations the rule of their conduct in the affairs of their empire, that the fortune, and the power, which ſhall deſcend from me to them, may be ſafe from diſcord and diſſolution. Book II.

NOW therefore be it known to my ſons, the fortunate and the illuſtrious, to my deſcendants, the mighty ſubduers of kingdoms; that, in like manner as I by twelve maxims, † which I eſtabliſhed as the rules of my conduct, attained to regal dignity; and with the aſſiſtance of theſe maxims conquered and governed kingdoms, and decorated and adorned the throne of my empire; let them alſo act according to theſe regulations, and preſerve the ſplendor of mine and their dominions.

AND among the rules which I eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of my glory and empire, the FIRST was this — That I promoted the worſhip of Almighty God, and propagated the religion of the ſacred Mahummud throughout the world; and at all times, and in all places, ſupported the true faith.

SECONDLY, with the people of the twelve claſſes and tribes I conquered and governed kingdoms; and with them I ſtrengthened the pillars of my fortune, and from them I formed my aſſembly. ‡

‡ The twelve claſſes of men, here alluded to, are fully deſcribed in a ſubſequent part of the inſtitutes.

THIRDLY,

وابن تروكات را در امور سلطنت خويش دستور العمل سازند تا دولت وسلطنتي كه از من بايشان برسد از خلل وزوال ايمن باشد

اكنون سبيل فرزندان كامياب نامدار ونباير ممالك ستان ذوي الاقتدار آنكه همچنانچه من به دوازده امر كه شعار خود ساختم وبمرتبه سلطنت رسيدم وبدين دوازده امر مملكت كيري وملك داري كردم واورنك سلطنت خودرا زيب وزينت دادم ايشان نيز بهمين تزوك عمل نمايند ودولت سلطنت مرا وخودرا نكاهباني كنند

واز جمله تزوكاتي كه بر دولت وسلطنت خود بر بستم اول اين بود كه دين خدا وشريعت محمد مصطفي را در دنيا رواج دادم وهميشه وهمه جاء تقويت دين اسلام نمودم

دويم آنكه با جماعه دوازده طبقه وطايفه ملك كيري وجهانداري كردم واركان دولت سلطنت خودرا بديشان استوار نمودم ومجلس خودرا از ايشان

† The maxims here mentioned are not the twelve following rules, but those given at length in the 18th, 19th, and 20th pages of the MS.

آراستند

## Book the Second.

# THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

BE it known to my fortunate ſons, the conquerors of kingdoms; to my mighty deſcendants, the lords of the earth; that ſince I have hope in Almighty God that many of my children, deſcendants, and poſterity, ſhall ſit upon the throne of power and regal authority; upon this account, having eſtabliſhed laws and regulations for the well-governing of my dominions, I have collected together thoſe regulations and laws as a model for others: to the end, that every one of my children, deſcendants, and poſterity, acting agreeably thereto, my power and empire, which I acquired through hardſhips, and difficulties, and perils, and bloodſhed, (by the divine Favour, and by the influence of the holy religion of Mahummud, (God's peace be upon him) and with the aſſiſtance of the powerful deſcendants and illuſtrious followers of that prophet) may be by them preſerved.

## تـزوكـات تـيـمـور

### مـقـالـت دوم

فرزندان ملك كبير كامكار ونبائر ذوي القدر جهاندارا معلوم باد كه چون از دركاه تنكري تعالي اميد دارم كه بسياري از فرزندان واولاد واحفاد من بر مسند سلطنت ومملكت داري خواهند نشست بنابرين بر امور سلطنت خود تزوكات بر بسته دستور العمل آنرا انشا نمودم كه هريك از فرزندان واولاد واحفاد من بدآن موجب عمل نموده دولت وسلطنت مرا كه برنجها ومحنتها وقزاقيها وجنكها بتاييدات رباني وميامن نيروي ملت محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم ودوستي آل عظام واصحاب كرام آنحضرت بچنك اورده ام نكاهباني نمايند

تزوکات تیمور

مقالت دوم

Book the Second.

# THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

AND when it reached my ears that Keeſur had ſent down armies on Hullub and on Hums, and on Deaur-a-bukkur; and that Kurrau Euſoof, the Toorkumaun (who had fled from before me and ſought protection with Keeſur) was employed in aſſaulting and moleſting the Kauruvvaun which went to the ſacred cities; (and at this time people came and demanded protection from his cruelty and oppreſſion) it became my duty that I ſhould chaſtiſe Kurrau Euſoof, and awaken Keeſur from the ſleep of forgetfulneſs. Book I.

AND in this matter I found it was good, that I ſhould call out the forces of every city and of every tribe, and collect them together and go down upon Keeſur. And when my forces were collected together, in the month of Rujjub, in the year of the Hijreh 804, I ſet out from Azzurbauejaun to wage war with Keeſur.

AND I ſent an army before me to ravage the kingdom of Room; and I ſent another army to examine the ſtages, and the water, and the forage; and I went by the way of Angooreah. And Keeſur with four hundred thouſand men, horſe-men and foot-men, advanced with ſpeed to oppoſe and to expel me. And I aſſaulted him and obtained the victory; and my ſoldiers ſeized upon Keeſur, and brought him into my preſence. And after a war of ſeven years, I returned victorious and triumphant to Summurkund.

وچون بمسامع من رسید که قیصر افواج
بر بلاد حلب وحمص ودیار بکر تعین نموده وقرا یوسف
ترکمان که از من گریخته بود وپناه بقیصر برده
براهزنی وآزار قافله که بحرمین شریفین آمد وشد می
نمایند مشغول است ودرین وقت جماعه آمدند واز
تعدی وستم وی داد خواه شدند وبر من لازم شد
که سزای قرا یوسف را در کنارش نهم وقیصر را از
خواب غفلت بیدار سازم

درین باب کنکاش چنین یافتم که از
هر شهری وقبیله لشکر طلب دارم وحشر کرده بر سر
قیصر روان شوم وچون لشکرها جمع آمده بودند در
ماه رجب سنه هشتصد وچهار هجری از اذربایجان
بعزم رزم قیصر روانه شدم

وپیشتر از خود افواج تعین نمودم که
بر مملکت روم ترکتاز آورند وفوج دیگر تعین کردم
که منازل وآب وعلف را ملاحظه کنند واز راه انکوریه
متوجه شدم وقیصر با چهار صد هزار کس از سوار
وپیاده بمقابله ومدافعهء من شتافت وجنگ انداختم
وفتح کردم وقیصر را لشکریان من دست گیر کرده
بحضور آوردند وبعد یورش هفت ساله مظفر ومنصور
بسمرقند مراجعت نمودم .

AND when I set out toward Tubburaze, I sent down certain of the princes, with a mighty army upon Bughdaud. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir had left one of his servants, whose name was Furrukh, with numerous forces, and the necessaries and the implements of defence, to guard the city and the castle of Bughdaud. Book I.

AND the princes arrived at Bughdaud, and they surrounded the city; and the people in the city opposed them: and they informed me thereof.

AND I found it was good that I myself should go and reduce the city and the castle of Bughdaud. And I turned back by the way of Tubburaze, and I marched with speed, and came to Bughdaud. And I besieged Bughdaud; and when the siege had continued for two months and some days, the castle and the city of Bughdaud were conquered and subdued.

AND Furrukh, the governor, was drowned in the waters of the Tigris. And I entered into Bughdaud, and I commanded that they should slay the seditious inhabitants of that city; and that they should throw down the castle and the buildings thereof, and make them level with the earth.

AND from Bughdaud I turned the reins of my intention toward Azzurbauejaun; and I sojourned in that kingdom for some time.

AND

وچون بجانب تبریز روانه شدم بعضي از
امير زادكانرا با افواج كران بر سر بغداد فرستادم
وسلطان احمد جلاير فرخ نامي را از نوكران خود
باسباب قلعه داري وجمعيت بسيار بمحافظه شهر
وقلعه بغداد كذاشته بود

واميرزادكان به بغداد رسيدند وشهررا
محاصره كردند وكار بجنك انجاميد وحقيقت را
بمن عرضه داشت كردند

ومن كنكاش درين يافتم كه خود رفته
شهر وقلعه بغداد را مستخلص كردانم واز راه تبريز
مراجعت نمودم وايلغار كردم وخودرا به بغداد رسانيدم
وبتدبير واحتياط سپاهكري ولوازم قلعه كيري پرداختم
وبعد از آنكه مدت محاصره بدو ماه وچند روز
كشيد قلعه وشهر مسخر ومفتوح كرديد

وفرخ قلعهدار در آب دجله غرق شد ومن
بشهر در آمدم وامر نمودم كه جميع مفسدان واوباش
شهررا بقتل رسانند وقلعه وعمارت شهررا انداخته
بخاك برابر سازند

واز بغداد بطرف اذربايجان عنان عزيمت
معطوف داشتم وچندكاه در آن مملكت طرح اقامت
انداختم

وچون

tage in this, that I ſhould go toward the chief city of Shaum. And I ſet out by the way of Hums and Hullub. And when I came to Hullub, I heard that Mullik Furruj, the ſon of Mullik Burkook, on hearing the news of my coming from Miſſur, had gone to Dummiſhk. † Book I.

AND I marched with ſpeed, that I might not permit the forces of Miſſur and the armies of Shaum to join themſelves together: but Mullik Furruj was quicker than I, and got to Dummiſhk. And I arrived after him at Dummiſhk, and reduced that city.

THE DESIGN which I formed for ſubduing the cities of Room, and for defeating the armies of Keeſur, was this.

WHEN I had conquered the cities of Shaum, and Mullik Furruj (the king of Miſſur and Shaum) had fled from my battle; my ambaſſador returned from Room, and brought the defiance of Yeldurrum Bauezzeed, ‡ and ſet forth — that when the news of the defeat of the armies of Miſſur and of Shaum came to Keeſur, that he was amazed and confounded, and prepared for war.

HAVING conquered Dummiſhk and the cities of Shaum, I went towards Bughdaud by the way of Mooſul. And I reſolved that I would turn toward Azzurbauejaun, that if Keeſur ſhould perſiſt in his intentions, it might be known.

† Damaſcus. ‡ Bajazet.

AND

درین یافتم که بجانب دار ملک شام نهضت نمایم
واز راه حمص وحلب روان شدم وچون بحلب رسیدم
شنیدم که ملک فرج پسر ملک برقوق از شنیدن خبر
رسیدن من از مصر متوجه دمشق شد
ومن ایلغار کردم که افواج مصر وشام را
نکذارم که بیکدیکر ملحق شوند وملک فرج پیش
دستي کرده خودرا بدمشق رسانید ومن در عقب
وي رسیده دمشق را مسخر ساختم

کنکاشي که در تسخیر بلاد روم وشکست
دادن قیصر کردم این بود
که چون بلاد شام را مسخر کردانیدم
وملک فرج پادشاه مصر وشام از جنک من بکریخت
وایلچي من از روم با جواب نا صواب ایلدرم بایزید
مراجعت نمود وعرض کرد که چون خبر شکست عساکر
مصر وشام بقیصر رسید متفکر واشفته کردید وتهیه
یساق نمود
من تسخیر دمشق وبلاد الشام نموده
از راه موصل به بغداد نهضت نمودم وکنکاش کردم
که بجانب اذربایجان متوجه شوم تا قیصر اکر بر
عزیمت خود مصمم باشد ظاهر شود

وچون

And when I reflected by myself, thus I found it was good, that I should extinguish the fire of Keesur by policy. And I wrote a letter to Keesur; and the substance of it was this.

"Praise is due to the God of the universe, that he hath brought under my authority many "of the kingdoms of the seven regions of the world, "and that the princes and rulers of the earth have submitted unto me. May God be merciful to that servant who knoweth his own limits, and who placeth not "the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds.

"Where thy race and lineage endeth, is "known to all men. † It is therefore worthy of thy "condition, that thou advance not forward the foot of "presumption, and that thou throw not thyself into the "abyss of affliction and calamity; and that thou open "not the door of discord and desolation on thy empire at "the instigation of the evil-minded, who have fled unto "thee for their own ends, and have awakened the sleeping destruction; but that thou send bound unto me "Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun: otherwise, that "which is concealed by the curtain of fate, after our "armies meet, will be known unto thee."

When I had sent the letter to Keesur by the hands of experienced ambassadors, I found my advantage

† Alluding to the descent of Bajazet, which was supposed to have been from a Toorkumaun sailor.

وچون بخود فکر کردم چنین کنکاش
یافتم که آتش قیصر را بگرمي وسردي اطفا نمایم
ومکتوبي بقیصر نوشتم وخلاصه مضمونش آنکه
شکر است خداوند زمین وآسمان را که
اکثري از ممالک هفت اقلیم را در زیر فرمان من در
آورده وسلاطین وحکام عالم حلقه اطاعت مرا در گوش
جان کشیده اند خداي رحمت کند بر آن بنده که
حد خودرا بشناسد وپا جسارت از حد خویش فراتر ننهد
وبر عالمیان ظاهر است که نسب ونسبت
تو بکجا منتهي میشود پس مناسب حال تو آنست
که قدم جسارت پیش نگذاري وخودرا در ورطه رنج وبلا
نیندازي وباغواء جمعي از دولت راندگان که بواسطه
اغراض خود پناه بتو برده اند وفتنه خوابیده را بیدار
ساخته اند در فتنه وآشوب را بر روي دولت خود وا
نکني لیکن که ترا یوسف را نزد من فرستي والا آنچه
در پرده تقدیر است بعد از مقابله صفین بر تو ظاهر
خواهد شد

وچون این نامه را مصحوب ایلچیان
کاردان نزد قیصر فرستادم کنکاش خود را
دیرین

I resolved to conquer Hullub and Humsau: † and I subdued that country with little labour. And I girded up the loins of my resolution to subdue the countries of Missur and of Shaum. ‡ Book I.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Missur and of Shaum, was this.

WHEN the news of my power and my strength reached the ears of Keesur, || that I had conquered the castles of Seewaus and Mulluteah, and the dependencies thereof, and that I had dispersed and defeated all his soldiers, who were in those castles, he was very wroth. And at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun (who had fled from the shock of my army, and had sought shelter with Keesur) he resolved on war.

AND, behold, the ruin and overthrow of Keesur was at hand; and Kurrau Eusoof urged him that he should draw an army upon me. And Keesur, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, came down with a mighty army; and he called the forces of Missur and of Shaum to his aid.

AND I reflected, that if I also divided my people into three armies, it would be better. But, behold, victory and defeat are hidden by the curtain of fate: and I demanded counsel of my Ameers. And they gave soldier-like counsel, saying, "Thou must go down to battle "with speed."

† Aleppo and Emessa. ‡ Egypt and Syria.

|| Cæsar: the title given by the Asiatic nations to the Turkish emperors.

جمع شد بر تسخير حلب وحمسا همت بستم وباندک
توجهي آن مملكت را مفتوح ساختم وكمر عزيمت
بر تسخير ممالک مصر وشام بستم

وكنكاشي كه در مفتوح ساختن مصر
وشام كردم اين بود

كه چون خبر شوكت وقدرت من
بمسامع قيصر رسيد كه قلاع سيواس وملطيه وتوابع
آنرا مسخر كردم ولشكرهاي ويرا كه در قلاع بودند
همكي متفرق وپراكنده كردانيدم عرق غيرت وي
بحركت در آمد وباغواي قرا يوسف تركمان كه
ازصدمهء لشكر من كريخته بود وپناه بقيصر برده بود
بجنک قرار داد

ونكبت وزوال قيصر نزديک رسيده بود
وقرا يوسف ويرا ترغيب نمود كه بر من لشكر كشد
وقيصر باغواي قرا يوسف با لشكر كران بحركت در
آمد وافواج مصر وشام را هم بمدد خواسته بود

ومن كنكاش كردم كه اكر من هم
لشكر خودرا سه فوج سازم بهتر است اما فتح وهزيمت
در پرده تقدير محجوب اند واز امرا كنكاش خواستم
وسپاهيانه كنكاش كفتند كه بجنک مبادرت بايد نمود

وچون

AND I reſolved that I would diſperſe and ſcatter abroad the rebellious and ſeditious of every country. Thus I ſent into the land of Tooraun certain of the ſeditious of Khorauſaun and of Fauris, and delivered thoſe countries from their machinations. And I turned the reins of my intention to the reduction of the caſtles of Goorjiſtaun.

AND I determined on that meaſure which was agreeable to my ſoldiers. † And I placed a helmet of ſteel on my head, and I cloathed myſelf in the armour of Dauood, ‡ and I hung a ſcymetar of Miſſur by my ſide, and I ſat on the throne of war.

AND I let looſe the brave men of Tooraun, and the valiant men of Khorauſaun, and the mighty men of Mauzinduraun, and of Kilaun; and I ſubdued the caſtle of Seewaus, and the caſtles of Goorjiſtaun; and I deſtroyed all the people who were in thoſe caſtles: and the ſpoils of thoſe caſtles I divided among my victorious forces. And I chaſtiſed the ſeditious and the plunderers of Azzurbauejaun.

AND after this I went to reduce the caſtles of Mulluteah and the neighbourhood thereof. And when I had ſubdued the caſtles, and had taken poſſeſſion of them,

wards turned Mahummudan, and became a great favourite with Timour; to whom he gave a ſuit of Armour, which he pretended Dauood (i.e. David) the king of Iſrael had forged with his own hands in a ſmith's ſhop. Vid. *Hiſt. Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 400.

This is the armour which Timour put on, on the preſent occaſion.

I reſolved

وکنکاش کردم که گردن کشان هر
ملک را متفرق سازم چنانچه بعضي گردن کشان
خراسان وفارس را بتوران زمین فرستادم وساحت آن
ممالک را از مخالفت ایشان پاک ساختم وبه تسخیر
قلاع ولایت گرجستان عنان عزیمت مصروف نمودم

وبه کنکاشي که پسندیده سپاهیان بود
عمل مینمودم وخود فولادي بر سر نهادم وزره داودي
در بر کردم وشمشیر مصري حمایل نمودم وبر سریر
مبارزت نشستم

ودلیران توران وبهادران خراسان ومردان
مازندران وگیلان را نهیب دادم وقلعه سیواس وقلاع
گرجستان را مسخر ساختم وجماعه که در قلعه ها
بودند همکي را مستاصل گردانیدم وغنایم آن قلعه ها
را بر عساکر منصوره قسمت نمودم ومفسدان واوباش
اذربایجان را تنبیه کردم

وبعد از آن متوجه بتسخیر قلاع ملطیه
وآن حوالي شدم وچون خاطرم از تسخیر ونسق قلاع

† Viz. To ſet forward in great martial pomp, as afterwards deſcribed.

‡ Timour, in his firſt incurſion into Georgia, reduced Tiflis the capital, and took priſoner Ipocrates the chriſtian king of that country, who afterwards

The design which I formed for ſubduing the countries of Goorjiſtaun, was this.

When I returned victorious and triumphant from Hindoſtaun, I had not yet reſted from the fatigues of the war of Hind, when the petitions of the governors of the two Erauks arrived, ſaying; "The infidels of Goorjiſtaun have advanced beyond their boundaries."

And, behold, I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the valour of princes than the conquering of kingdoms and empires, and the waging holy wars with infidels and unbelievers.

And, in thoſe days, when the news of the irruption of the infidel inhabitants of Goorjiſtaun arrived, I reflected, that if I delayed to chaſtiſe them, perhaps the ſeditious of that country might riſe into open rebellion: and in chaſtiſing them I uſed expedition.

And I gave liberty to the ſoldiers, who had returned from the war of Hind, that every one of them who choſe to ſtay at home, might ſtay; and that every one who choſe to go with me, might go.

And I ſent forth orders to the armies of Khorauſaun and Kundahaur, and Seiſtaun and Kurmaun, and Tubburiſtaun, and Kilaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Fauris; that they ſhould make ready for war, and come down into the neighbourhood of Isfahaun, and be united to my victorious forces. †

† i. e. To the army which he commanded in perſon.

کنکاشي که در تسخیر ممالک کرجستان کردم این بود

که چون از هندوستان مظفر ومنصور معاودت نمودم هنوز از رنج سفر هند نیآسوده بودم که عرایض حکام عراقین رسید که کفار کرجستان قدم از جادهء حد خود بیرون کذاشته اند

وهمیشه در فکر مي بودم که پادشاهانرا بهتر از غزا وجهاد با کفار وملک کیري وجهان ستاني چیزي دیکر نیست

ودرین وقت که خبر طغیان کرجستانیان بي ایمان رسید کنکاش کردم که اکر دفع ورفع ایشان اهمال نمایم مبادا مفسدان آن دیار بطغیان در آیند ودر دفع ایشان سرعت بکار بردم

وسپاهیان را که از یساق هند آمده بودند مختار ساختم که هرکس خواهد بجاي خویش باشد وهرکس خواهد همراهي نماید

وبلشکرهاي خراسان وقندهار وسیستان وکرمان وطبرستان وکیلان ومازندران وفارس یرلیغها صادر کردم که تهیه یساق نمایند ودر حوالي اصفهان آیند وبلشکر ظفر اثر ملحق شوند

وکنکاش

SOOLTAUN Muhmood and Mulloo Khaun, with fifty thouſand men, horſemen and footmen, and one hundred and twenty elephants, made ſtrong the caſtle of Dehli, and prepared to oppoſe me. Book I.

AND it came into my mind, that if I ſhould reſolve on ſubduing the caſtle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious.

AND I counſelled with myſelf, that I would make myſelf appear weak in their ſight; that the enemy might gain courage, and come, and fight with me on the plain.

AND on this account I dug a ditch round my army, and I ſtrengthened myſelf within that ditch: and I ſent a force to meet them. And I commanded the ſoldiers that they ſhould ſhow themſelves weak and fearful, that they might give courage to the enemy.

AND when the enemy found themſelves powerful, they exulted: and they came into the plain, and they oppoſed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle, and he was defeated, and he fled toward the mountains. And ſpoils and wealth above meaſure, in money and in effects, fell to the lot of my ſoldiers.

AND in the ſpace of one year I conquered the chief city of Hind: and at the end of the ſame year I returned toward the imperial city of Summurkund.

که سلطان محمود وملو خان با پنجاه هزار سوار وپیاده ویک صد وبیست زنجیر فیل قلعه دهلي را استحکام داده بقصد جنک من در آمد

وبخاطرم خطور کرد که اکر بکرفتن قلعه دهلي مقید شوم مبادا کار بدور ودراز بکشد

با خود کنکاش کردم که خودرا زبون نمودار کردانم تا آنکه غنیم دلیر شود بجنک صف مبادرت نماید

واز این جهت در دور لشکر خندق کندم ومیان خندق خودرا استوار ساختم وفوجي را باستقبال ایشان فرستادم وامر کردم که خودرا زبون وترسان نمودار ساخته غنیم را دلیر سازند

وچون غنیم خودرا غالب یافت خیره شده در میدان آمده با افواج قاهره رو برو شدند وسلطان محمود حاکم دهلي بجنک مبادرت نمود وشکست یافت وبطرف کوهستان بکریخت وغنایم واموال بي قیاس از نقود واجناس نصیب سپاهیان من شد

ودر میان یک سال دار الملک هند را مسخر ساختم ودر اواخر سنه مذکور بدار السلطنت سمرقند معاودت نمودم

کنکاشي

one of my servants and well-wishers (and the prince Peer Mahummud had left him to defend the castle of Ireaub) and he slew him, and plundered all that he had. And at this time Mullik Mahummud, the brother of Lushkur Shaah, came and demanded justice; and he set forth unto me the murder of his brother by the cruelty of Moosi.

AND I gave orders that Mullik Mahummud should be thrown into prison; and I said that Moosi was my well-wisher; and my Ameers spoke of my injustice.

BUT when the news of the confinement of Mullik Mahummud, and of that which I had said, reached the ears of Moosi, he became strong of heart. And when the mandate which I had written unto him arrived, he came without fear and he delivered up the castle.

AND when I went to view the castle, one of his soldiers shot an arrow with an intention to slay me: and Moosi met with his reward. † And the road to Hindostaun was open.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Sooltaun Muhmood the ruler of Dehli, and Mulloo Khaun, was this.

his arrival in that neighbourhood, went to view the castle; when one of the people of Moosi let fly an arrow at him. As he had all along determined to chastise Moosi, he immediately caused him to be seized and put to death. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. III. p. 39.

من بود وويرا امير زاده پير محمد به محافظت قلعه ايراب كذاشته بود تركناز آورد وويرا بقتل رسانيد وهرچه داشتند ونداشتند بغارت داده وهمدرين وقت ملك محمد برادر لشكر شاه آمده داد فرياد كرده حقيقت كشته شدن برادر خوردرا از تعدي موسي بعرض رسانيد

ومن بحبس وي فرمان دادم وكفتم كه موسي دولتخواهي من است وامراي من سخن بر ظلم من كردند

اما چون خبر حبس ملك محمد وحرف من بكوش موسي رسيد توي دل كشت وچون يرليغ طلب كه نوشته بودم بوي رسيد بي دهشت آمد وقلعه را پيشكش كرد

چون من بتماشاي آن قلعه رفتم يكي از سپاهيان وي تيري بقصد من انداخت وموسي بسزا وجزاي خود رسيد وراه هندوستان مفتوح شد

كنكاشي كه در شكست دادن سلطان محمود حاكم دهلي وملو خان كردم اين بود

† When Moofi fubmitted, Timour found it prudent to continue him for a time in his government, and fupplied him with people and neceffaries to put the caftle of Ireaub in a proper ftate of defence. The emperor, on his

كه

AND I ordered Sooltaun Mahummud Khaun, and the prince Rooſtum, and other Ameers with thirty thouſand horſemen of the right wing, that, croſſing the waters of Sind, they ſhould go down on the country of Lahore, by the way of the ſkirts of the mountains of Kuſhmeer. And I myſelf with thirty and two thouſand horſemen, was the main body.

AND behold the whole of my army was ninety and two thouſand horſemen, correſponding and according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God, † (be the bleſſing of the Almighty on him and on his poſterity) and I took this number as a fortunate and an happy omen.

AND I ſet out, and I came and pitched my tents at Anduraub on the border of Budukhſhaun: and having puniſhed the infidels of the mountains of Kuttoor, I went on to the holy war of Hindoſtaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for clearing the road to Hindoſtaun, from the Oughauns, ‡ was this.

IT was reported unto me that certain of the Oughauns infeſted the road to Hindoſtaun, and robbed and plundered therein: and eſpecially Mooſi the Oughaun, who was the head of the tribe of Gurkus. And he came down on Luſhkur Shaah the Oughaun, who was

phet appear to be only ninety two in number, which ſeems moſt probable.

‡ Or Afghauns. The word is written ſometimes *Oughaun* and ſometimes *Afghaun* in the MS.

one

وسلطان محمد خان وامير زاده رستم را
وديكر امرا را با سي هزار سوار برانغار* امر نمودم كه از
آب سند كذشته از راه دامن كوه كشمير بر ولايت
لاهور تركتاز آورند ومن خود با سي ودو هزار سوار
قول* شدم
وچون مجموع لشكر من نود ودو هزار
سوار بودند موافق ومطابق عدد اسم محمد رسول الله
صلي الله عليه وآله وسلم اين عدد را بفال نيكو
ومبارك كرفتم
وسوار شدم ودر موضع اندرآب سرحد
بدخشان فرود آمدم وتنبيه كفار كوه كتور نموده متوجه
غزاي دار الحرب هندوستان شدم

وكنكاش پاك ساختن راه هندوستان از
اوغانيان چنين كردم
كه چون بعرض من رسيد كه بعضي از
اوغانيان متعرض راه هندوستان شده رهزني مينمايند
خصوصا موسي اوغان كه كلانتر قبيله كركس است
وبر لشكر شاه اوغان كه از چاكران ودولتخواهان

† According to D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orientale*, p. 603.) the Mahummudans have given 99 names or attributes to their prophet, the ſame number by which they diſtinguiſh the Creator. By this account the names of the prophet

"that whatever be the will of God, that I may do." Book I.
And they all conſented thereto.

And when I ſought an omen in the holy book, this ſacred verſe came forth — "O PROPHET "FIGHT WITH THE INFIDELS AND THE UNBE-"LIEVERS." And when the doctors of the law explained the meaning of the verſe to the Ameers, they hung down their heads, and they were ſilent. And my heart was grieved by their ſilence.

And I deliberated with myſelf concerning the Ameers who oppoſed the reduction of Hindoſtaun, whether I ſhould throw them down from their commands, and give their troops, and their Kuſhoons to their Kotuls: but ſince I myſelf had exalted them, I ſought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindneſs: and although they had angered me, yet, as they were unanimous at laſt, I regarded it not.

And I called a council a ſecond time; and having pitched my tents toward Hindoſtaun, I repeated the prayer of victory.

Thus I reſolved to ſend down armies on the chief city of Hindoſtaun. I commanded the prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer, who was at Kaubul with thirty thouſand horſemen of the left wing of the army, that, going by the way of the mountain of Soolamaun, and croſſing the Sind, he ſhould go down upon Mooltaun and ſubdue it.

And

تعالي باشد بدآن عمل نمايم وايشان همه قبول كردند

چون از مصحف مجيد فال كشادم اين آية كريمه بر آمد يا ايها النبي جاهد الكفار والمنافقين† وچون علما مضمون آية را بامرا خاطر نشان كردند سرها در زير انداخته خاموش شدند ومرا دل از خاموشي ايشان افسرده شد

بخود كنكاش كردم كه امراي كه به تسخير هندوستان راضي نميشوند ايشانرا از مرتبه امارت بيندازم وافواج وقشونات ايشانرا بكوتل* ارزاني دارم ليكن چون تربيت كرده من بودند نخواستم كه ايشانرا خراب سازم وبديشان ملايمت كردم اكرچه ايشان خون در دل من انداختند ليكن چون آخر متفق شدند چيزي در خاطر نياوردم

ومرتبه ديكر كنكاش كردم وپيشخانه اقبال بجانب هندوستان بر آورده فاتحه فتح خواندم

وكنكاش تعين نمودن لشكرها بر دار الملك هندوستان چنين كردم كه امير زاده پير محمد جهانكير را با سي هزار سوار لشكر جرانغار* كه در كابل بود امر نمودم كه از راه كوه سليماني رفته واز آب سند كذشته بر ولايت ملتان تركتاز آورد ومسخر كرداند وسلطان

† Arabic.

THE prince Sooltaun Hooſſein ſpoke, and ſaid; "When we ſhall have conquered Hindoſtaun, we "ſhall become the lords and the rulers of four re-"gions." †

THE prince Shaahrokh ſaid; "I have read "in the Toorki annals, that there are five mighty "kings, whom, becauſe of their greatneſs, they mention "not by their names. For, behold, they call the king "of Hind, Daurau; and the king of Room they call "Keeſur; and the king of Khuttun, and Cheen, and "Maucheen, they ſtile Fughfoor; and they call the king "of Toorkiſtaun, Khaukaun; and they call the lord of "Eraun, and of Tooraun, King of kings. And, lo! "the power of the King of kings hath, in all times, been "over the empire of Hindoſtaun: and ſince the land of "Eraun, and the land of Tooraun are in our hands, it "behoveth us to conquer Hindoſtaun alſo."

THE Ameers ſpoke, and ſaid; "Although "we may ſubdue Hind, yet if we tarry in that land, our "poſterity will be loſt; and our children, and our grand "children, will degenerate from the vigour of their fore-"fathers, and become ſpeakers of the language of Hind."

AND I had reſolved on the conqueſt of Hindoſtaun, and I was loth to deſiſt from my reſolution: and I anſwered them, ſaying; "I will turn to Almighty "God, and I will ſeek the ſign of war in the KORAUN,

† i.e. Four ſevenths of the known world. For the Arabians and Perſians, following the antient Greek writers, diſtribute what they imagine the habitable parts of the earth, into ſeven regions or climates.

امیر زاده سلطان حسین کفت که
چون هند را بکیریم بر چهار اقلیم حاکم وفرمان فرما
کردیم

امیر زاده شاه رخ کفت که در قوانین
ترک خوانده ام که پنج پادشاه عظیم الشان اند که
از بزرکي ایشانرا بنام نمیخوانند پادشاه هندرا دارا
میکویند وپادشاه روم را قیصر میخوانند وپادشاه خطا
وچین وماچین را فغفور مینامند وپادشاه ترکستان را
خاقان میکویند وپادشاه ایران وتوران را شهنشاه
میخوانند وحکم شهنشاه همیشه بر ممالک هندوستان
جاري بوده وچون ایران وتوران زمین بتصرف ما
است لازم است که هندوستان را هم مسخر
کردانیم

وامرا کفتند که اکرچه هند را میکیریم
لیکن اکر اقامت نماییم نسل ما ضایع شود واولاد
واحفاد ما از ترکیب بدر آیند وهندي زبان کردند

چون بر عزیمت تسخیر هند کمر همت
بسته بودم نخواستم که ترک عزیمت خود نمایم ودر
جواب ایشان کفتم که به تنکري تعالي متوجه میشوم
واز قران فال جنک مي بینم تا انچه امر تنکري
تعالي

AND I crossed the waters of Timour †. And I wrote mandates to the people, and the tribes of the Dusht of Kipchauk, saying; Whoever cometh in unto me, let him come; and whoever refuseth, let him refuse. Book I.

AND in the year seven hundred and ninety seven I entered the Dusht of Kipchauk. And I went to the boundaries of the land of the north; and the people, and the tribes of Jouji, who opposed me, I destroyed. And I subdued the countries and the castles of the fifth and of the sixth region. ‡ And I returned victorious and triumphant. A.D. 1394.

MY DESIGN, for reducing the empire of Hindostaun, was this. First, to discover the thoughts of my Sons and of my Ameers, I demanded counsel of them.

THE prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer said; "Behold, when we shall subdue the empire of "Hind, with the gold of Hind, we shall become the "conquerors of the world."

AND the prince Mahummud Sooltaun spoke, saying; "We may subdue Hind: yet Hindo-"staun hath many ramparts. First, the rivers; and se-"condly, the wildernesses and the forests; and thirdly, "the soldiers clad in armour; and fourthly, the ele-"phants, destroyers of men."

† The word *Timour* is probably an error.

‡ He penetrated to Moscow, at that time the capital of Russia, which he pillaged. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 363. See also note on p. 131.

واز آب تیهور عبور نهوده بایــل والوس
دشت یرلیغها نوشتم که هر کس بهن در آید بر آید
وهر کس در افتد بر افتد

ودر سنه ۷۹۷ بدشت قپچـاق در آمدم
وتا اقصاي زمین شهال رفـتـم وایل والوس جوجي را
که راه مخالفت من مي پیهودند خراب ومستاصل
ساختم وولایت والوسات وقلعهاي اقلیم پنجم وششم را
مسخر ساختم ومظفر ومنصور معاودت نهودم

کنکاشي که در تسخیر هندوستان
کردم ایـن بود که اول بسبیل مزاج داني از
فرزندان وامرا کنکاش خواستم

امیـر زاده پیـر محهد جهانـکیـر
کفت که چون مهلکت هند را بکیریـم از زر هند
عـالـم کـیـر شـویـم

وامیـر زاده محهد سلطان کفت هند را
میکیریم لیکن هندوستان را حصارها است اول دریاها
دوم جنکلها وبیشها سیوم سـپـاه سـلـاح دار وفیلان
آدم شـکـار

امیـر

and the conduct of Sooltaun Ahmud the ruler of Bughdaud, and of the ſtrength of his forces. Book I.

AND the ambaſſador went to Bughdaud, and wrote word unto me, ſaying, "Behold, Sultaun Ahmud is a piece of animated fleſh: and lo, he hath two eyes." †

AND I reſted on the favour of the Almighty; and I marched with ſpeed, and I came to Bughdaud ſuddenly. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir reſolved on flight, and he fled toward Kurbullau: and Bughdaud, (the houſe of Iſlaum) was conquered.

THE DESIGN which I formed for extirpating Touktummiſh Khaun was this.

AFTER he had given up the tribe of Jouji to the wind of deſolation, and had been put to flight; he, in the hour of advantage, ſent down a mighty army on the kingdom of Azzurbauejan by the way of Durbund and Sharevaun, and began to raiſe commotions therein. And when I had conquered the two Erauks, thus I reſolved to deſtroy him — that I would go into the Duſht of Kipchauk with a mighty army by the way of Durbund.

AND I reviewed my armies, and, behold, they ſtood on four furſungs of ground ‡ in battle array: and I gave thanks to God.

† A mode of ſpeech uſed by the ambaſſador to expreſs his contempt of the abilities of Sooltaun Ahmud.

‡ About 13 Engliſh miles.

احوال شجاعت ومعاش سلطان احمد والي بغداد ولشکر ویرا معلوم نماید

وایلچي به بغداد رفته بمن عرضه داشت نمود که سلطان احمد پارچه کوشتي است ودو چشم دارد

من تکیه بر تایید ایزدي نموده ایلغار کردم وخودرا باستعجال به بغداد رسانیدم وسلطان احمد جلایر قرار بر فرار داده وبطرف کربلا کریخت ودار الاسلام بغداد مسخر من کشت

کنکاشي که در استیصال تقتمش خان کردم این بود

که چون الوس جوجي خان را بغارت داده وهزیمت یافته بود در وقت فرصت لشکرهاي کران از راه دربند وشیروان بر ولایت اذربایجان فرستاد وآغاز فتنه وفساد کرد ومن چون عراقین را مسخر ساخته بودم در استیصال وي چنین کنکاش کردم که با لشکرهاي فراوان از راه دربند بدشت قبچاق در آیم

وعرض لشکر خودرا ملاحظه نمودم لشکرهاي من تا چهار فرسنک راه یسال بسته ایستاده بودند شکر آلهي بجاي آوردم

واز

AND when it reached the ears of the Ameers and the Leaders, that my children had kneeled before me, and had offered to devote their lives unto me, they became ſtrong of heart, and they reſolved on battle.

AND I appointed the prince Abau Bukkur, with eight thouſand horſemen, the advanced guard. And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded that the tents ſhould be pitched, and that they ſhould prepare victuals. †

AND at this time the ſtandard of Touktummiſh Khaun was inverted: and Touktummiſh, diſmayed and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of deſolation; and turned his back on the field of ſlaughter, and fled.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Bughdaud (the city of Iſlaum) and Erauk a Arrub, was this.

AFTER I had ſubdued Erauk a Ajjum and Fauris, in thoſe days a letter from Koottub ul Aktaub, my PEER, came unto me, ſaying, "The lord of Erauk "a Ajjum and Arrub hath given Erauk unto thee."

AND thus I acted in the reduction of Bughdaud. I firſt ſent an ambaſſador to Sooltaun Ahmud Jullauir, that he might inform himſelf of the proweſs

miſh, ordered in contempt the cavalry of his main body to diſmount and prepare their victuals Vid. *Hiſt. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 114.

چون خبر زانو زدن فرزندان بمسامع امرا
ونونیان رسیده هیکي قوي دل کشته دل نهاد جنک
شدند
وامیر زاده ابا بکر با هشت هزار سوار هراول
ساختم وچون آتش قتال وجدال بلند شد امر کردم
که خیمهارا بر پا سازند وبطبخ طعام مشغول شوند
ودرین وقت علم تقتمش خان سر نکون
شد وتقتمش خان شکسته رکاب وکسسته عنان
الوس جوجی را بباد غارت داده پشت بمعرکه کرد
وفرار نمود

کنکاشي که در تسخیر دار الاسلام
بغداد وعراق عرب کردم این بود
که بعد از آنکه عراق عجم وفارس را
مسخر ساختم درین وقت مکتوب قطب الاقطاب پیر
من بمن رسید که قهرمان عراق عرب وعجم عراق را
بتو ارزاني داشته
در تسخیر بغداد چنین کنکاش کردم
که اول ایلچي نزد سلطان احمد جلایر فرستادم تا

† i. e. At the time that the advanced guard was engaged, Timour, aſſured of ſucceſs from his intrigue with the ſtandard-bearer of Touktum-miſh,

احوال

on the flesh of the beasts of the forests, and on the eggs of the birds of the desert. And Touktummish Khaun heard of the state of my people, and found his advantage; and, with an army more numerous than the ants and the locusts, came upon me, and opposed me face to face. Book I.

AND my people were an hungered, and the army of Touktummish Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers set not their hearts upon battle, until my sons and my grandsons came, and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me.

AND at this time the standard-bearer of Touktummish plotted secretly with me. And I found it was good that I should assault the foe; and that, when the two armies were engaged, the standard-bearer of Touktummish Khaun should invert his standard. †

"mich s'étoit imaginé que lorsque Timur arriveroit au fleuve de Tic, il le "traverseroit par les passages ordinaires, c'est pourquoi il s'étoit mis en em-"buscade pour le surprendre dans ce passage: mais l'Empereur *s'étoit pré-"cautionné* contre les desseins de Tocatmich; il avoit passé le fleuve à la "nage par un autre endroit, et il étoit arrivé près de lui sans peril. *Quoi-"qu'il en soit*, ce Prince *ayant compris* la maniere d'agir de Tocatmich Can, "il s'arrêta dans ce lieu là, jusqu'à ce que toutes les Troupes s'y fussent "rendues, &c." Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 98.

This is another proof of the superiority of the history of Timour, written by himself, over that written by Aali Yezzudi; who, though a tolerably accurate narrator of the exploits of Timour, appears to be, in most cases, an absolute stranger to the secret springs and motives which influenced his conduct.

چنانچه چند روز بآش يلهاق* وكوشت شكار وتخم مرغان صحراي، اوقات ميكذرانيدند تا آنكه تقتمش خان احوال لشكر مرا شنيده فرصت يافت وبا لشكري بيشتر از مور وملخ آمده بمن رو برو شد

ولشكريان من بسيار كرسنه بودند ولشكر تقتمش خان آسوده وسرداران وامراي من دل نهاده جنك نمي شدند تا آنكه فرزندان ونبابر آمده زانو زدند واختيار جانسپاري نمودند

ودرين وقت علمدار تقتمش خان بمن سازش كرد وكنكاش چنين يافتم كه جنك بيندازم ودر هنكام مقابله هر دو صف علمدار وي علم ويرا نكونسار سازد

† To render the importance of this DESIGN intelligible, it may be proper to obſerve, that in aſiatic encounters the diſappearance or retreat of the grand ſtandard of the prince has ever been, and ſtill is, attended with the loſs of the battle. This ſtandard is conſpicuous for its ſize, and accompanies that body of troops immediately headed by the prince himſelf. The eyes of the whole army are fixed upon it. While it continues diſplayed and advancing, the troops are ſatisfied that their prince is with them; but the moment it diſappears, or retreats, they conclude that he is either ſlain or flying from the field: and the diſperſion of his forces immediately follows.

Aali Yezzudi appears to be totally ignorant of the good underſtanding which had taken place between Timour and the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh Khaun. Unacquainted with this circumſtance, he is at a loſs to account for certain of the emperor's actions prior to the battle. In relating the movements of the army a ſhort time before the action, he ſays, "Tocat-
"mich

چون

men in Isfahaun, and drew my armies towards the Dusht of Kipchauk, to reduce and drive out Touktummish Khaun, † the people of Isfahaun put my Daurogheh to death: and the inhabitants of Sharauze also turned aside from their obedience. Book I.

AND on these accounts I went down upon the kingdom of Erauk a second time, and I collected together eighty thousand horsemen. And I reflected, that if I entered into Erauk at one time with this mighty army, that they could not be supported. And I commanded my armies, that they should invade the kingdom of Erauk, one after the other.

AND when I had resolved thus, I divided my forces into three armies, and sent them down before me. And the divided troops who had come together in the kingdom of Erauk, were all dispersed abroad. And I drew an army on Sharauze: and Shaah Munsoor opposed me face to face. And he met with his reward. ‡

THE DESIGN which I formed in defeating Touktummish Khaun was this.

WHEN my armies were weakened by a pursuit of five months after Touktummish Khaun in the Dusht of Kipchauk, famine and scarcity were very great in my army, even so that for many days my people lived

† Who, forgetting the repeated services and assistances which he had received from Timour, had during his absence in Persia &c. made incursions into Mauwur u Nuhur.

‡ i. e. was slain in the action.

تعین نمودم وبجهته دفع ورفع تغتمش خان بجانب
دشت قبچاق لشکر کشیدم اهل اصفهان داروغه را
بقتل رسانیده بودند واهالي شیراز نیز قدم اطاعت
بیرون کذاشته بودند

لهذا تجدید یساق مملکت عراق نمودم
وهشتاد هزار سوار موجود ساختم وکنکاش کردم اکر
بیک مرتبه با این لشکر کران بعراق در آیم کنجایش
نخواهد بود وافواج را مقرر ساختم که فوج فوج
بمملکت عراق ترکتاز آورند

چون چنین کنکاش کردم لشکر خودرا
سه فوج ساختم وپیش از خود تعین نمودم ولشکرهاي
متفرقه که در عراق جمع آمده بودند همه پراکنده
شدند وبر شیراز لشکر کشیدم وشاه منصور بمن رو
برو شد وبسزاي خود رسید

کنکاشي که در شکست دادن تغتمش
خان کردم این بود

که در دشت قبچاق لشکریان من
بواسطه آنکه پنج ماه در تعاقب تغتمش خان
معطل شدند قحطي وتنکي در لشکر من بسیار شد
چنانچه

who ſent gifts unto me; and in the letter which he wrote unto me, he inſerted this — "We, who are of the "poſterity of Aali, have reſted ſatisfied with this land. "ان تاخذوا قدرتكم اقوي وان تعفوا اقرب "للتقوي † That is to ſay; *If thou wilt take it from* "*us, thy power is greater than ours; but if thou wilt* "*ſpare us, it will come nearer to clemency.*" Book I.

I CONSIDERED the ſubmiſſion of the ruler of Mauzinduraun as a happy omen; and I turned toward the countries of Kilaun and Jurjaun. And when the princes of thoſe countries ſubmitted not unto me, I appointed troops to go down upon them; and I myſelf drew my army into Erauk.

AND I conquered the city of Iſfahaun. And I truſted in the people of Iſfahaun; and I delivered the caſtle into their hands. And they rebelled; and the Daurogheh, whom I had placed over them, they ſlew, with three thouſand of the ſoldiers. And I alſo commanded that a general ſlaughter ſhould be made of the people of Iſfahaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of the chief city of Fauris, and the reſt of Erauk, is this.

WHEN I left Sharauze in the hands of the deſcendants of Muzzuffur, and ſtationed three thouſand

† Arabic.

men

فرستاد ودر مکتوبی که نوشته بود قید کرده بود که ما جمعي که از آل علي ایم قناعت باین سر زمین کرده ایم ان تاخذوا قدرتکم اقوي وان تعفوا اقرب للتقوي یعني اگر بگیرید قدرت شما قویتر است واگر عفو کنید نزدیک به پرهیزکاري است

من رجوع حاکم مازندران را شگون* گرفتم ومتوجه مملکت گیلان وجرجان شدم وچون حکام آنجا بمن رجوع نیاوردند وافواج قاهره بر سر ایشان تعین نمودم وخود بعراق لشکر کشیدم

واصفهان را مسخر ساختم وبر اهل اصفهان اعتماد کرده قلعه را بدست ایشان سپردم وایشان باغي شده داروغه را که بر ایشان تعین کرده بودم با سه هزار کس از سپاه بقتل آوردند من هم حکم بقتل عام اهالي اصفهان کردم

کنکاشي که در تسخیر دار الملك فارس وتنبه عراق کردم اینست

که چون شیراز را به آل مظفر گذاشتم ودر اصفهان سه هزار کس

تعین

AND when I did ſo, the meaſure proved ſucceſsful. For when the ambaſſador arrived, even whilſt he related his ſtory, my victorious armies, like unto an unforeſeen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppoſe them; and he reſolved on flight. And the Duſht of Kipchauk was ſubdued. †



THE DESIGNS which I formed for ſubduing the countries of Kilaun, and Jurjaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Azzurbauejaun, and Shurwaun, and Fauris, and Erauk, were theſe. In thoſe days, when the petitions of the people of Erauk, on account of the oppreſſions of the race of Muzzuffur, and of the rulers of the nations, came unto me, I reſolved to go down upon Erauk.

AND at this time it came into my mind, that if the rulers of thoſe countries ſhould join together to oppoſe me, I muſt be well prepared for war: and my Ameers gave this counſel, ſaying, "We muſt go prepa-"red for war." And I reſolved with myſelf, that I would make them obedient unto me, one by one; and that I would chaſtiſe thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit.

AND the firſt perſon, who ſought my protection, was Ameer Aali the ruler of Mauzinduraun,

† Upon the death of Auroos Khaun, which happened ſoon after his defeat, Touktummiſh Khaun was eſtabliſhed on the throne of the Duſht of Kipchauk, by the aſſiſtance of Timour.

who

چون چنین کردم تدبیر موافق تقدیر آمد که چون ایلچي اروس خان رسید وحکایت میکرد که افواج قاهره من چون بلاي ناکهاني بر سر اروس خان ریختند واروس خان تاب مقاومت نیآورد وقرار بر فرار داد ومملکت دشت قپچاق مسخر من شد

کنکاش که در تسخیر ممالک کیلان وجرجان ومازندران واذربایجان وشروان وفارس وعراق کردم این بود که در ایامي که عرایض اهل عراق از تعدي آل مظفر وملوک طوایف بمن رسید اراده یساق عراق کردم

ودرین حال بخاطرم رسید که ملوک آن ممالک اکر بیک اتفاق در مقابل من در آیند جنک را آماده باید بود وامراي من همچنین کنکاش کفتند که باستعداد جنک باید رفت ومن با خود چنین کنکاش دیدم که یک یک از ایشان را بخود رام کردانم وهرکس رام نشود ویرا بسزا رسانم

اول کسي که بمن پناه آورد امیر علي حاکم مازندران بود که بمن پیشکش فرستاد

my intention that way: and, behold, I have very much business before me. Book I.

AND I saw it was good, that I should write mandates of encouragement to the rulers of those countries, to this purport — "If ye come in unto me, "come; and if ye refuse, refuse: and do that which ye "see best." And, behold, the measure was good: and as soon as my mandates arrived, they placed the forehead of submission on the path of obedience.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Auroos Khaun, and for subduing the Dusht of Kipchauk, was this. When Touktummish Buddau Khaun was defeated by Auroos Khaun, and fled to me for shelter, I counselled with myself whether I should send an army with Touktummish Khaun, or whether I should go myself.

AND at this time the ambassador of Auroos Khaun arrived. And I saw my advantage in this — that I should speak fair to his ambassador, and dismiss him, and shut up the road to the Dusht, and appoint an army to set out after the ambassador;—and that on the day after that on which the ambassador should enter the presence of Auroos Khaun, without suspicion; whilst Auroos Khaun should be unprepared, my forces should assault him.

بـايد داشت واينك مرا كار بسياري در پيش است
كنكاش دربن ديدم كه يرليغهاي استمالت
به حكام آن ديار بنويسم با اين مضمون كه اگر بمن
در آييد بر آييد واگر در افتيد بر افتيد وانچه بينيد
وتدبير موافق تقدير بود وبمجرد رسيدن يرليغها ايشان
سر اطاعت بر جادهٔ فرمان برداري نهادند

كنكاشي كه در استيصال اروس خان
وتسخير دشت قبچـاق كردم اين بود كه چون
تغتمش بداخان از اروس خان شكست يافته پناه بمن
آورد بخـود كنكاش كردم كه بهمراهي تغتمش
بداخان فوج بفرستم يا خود بروم
دربـنـوقـت ايلچـي اروس خان رسيد
كنكاش را چنين يافتم كه ايلچي ويرا تسلي نمايم
ورخصت دهـم وراه دشـت را بربندم ومتعاقب ايلچي
لشكري تعيين كنم كه در روزي كه ايلچي
بخـاطـر جـمـع بمجلس اروس خان در آيد ووي
غـافـل شـود روز ديگر افـواج مـن بر سر وي
تركتاز آورد

چون

of my intention toward Summurkund. And after that a letter from my PEER came unto me, ſaying; "Mullik "Gheaus u deen is employed in tyranny and oppreſſion."

AND when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had ſat down quiet and ſecure, I reſolved thus —— "Now the hearts "of the people of Khorauſaun are no longer afraid of me, "I muſt fall upon them."

AND I turned back from the neighbourhood of Bullukh; and with the army which I had left in Bullukh, I marched with ſpeed: and, coming to Hurraut, I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the ſleep of ſecurity. And he was helpleſs, and he came forth from the city of Hurraut, and he preſented unto me his treaſures, and his wealth, and his kingdom. And the kingdom of Khorauſaun was ſubdued; and the Ameers of Khorauſaun, every one of them, ſubmitted unto me.

THE DESIGNS which I formed for conquering the countries of Seiſtaun, and Kundahaur, and the land of the Afghauns, were theſe. When the kingdom of Khorauſaun was reduced to obedience, my Ameers counſelled me, ſaying, "Thou muſt ſend armies "to ſubdue theſe three countries." I anſwered them, ſaying, If the matter be not brought to paſs by the armies, without remedy, I myſelf muſt turn the reins of

عزیمت بطرف سمرقند معطوف داشتم وبعد از آن نامه پیر من بمن رسید که ملک غیاث الدین بظلم وجور مشغول است

وچون از خبر مراجعت من بطرف سمرقند ملک غیاث الدین بخاطر جمع نشسته بود کنکاش کردم که الحال خاطر خراسانیان از طرف من جمع گشت باید که بر ایشان ترکتاز آورم

واز حوالي بلخ برگشته با لشکري که در بلخ گذاشته بودم ایلغار کردم وخودرا بهرات رسانیده ملک غیاث الدین را در خواب غفلت گرفتم ووي ناچار از شهر هرات بر آمد وخزاین ودفاین ومملکت خودرا بمن پیشکش کرد وملک خراسان مسخر من گردید وامراي خراسان همگي اطاعت من کردند

وکنکاش دیگر که در تسخیر ممالک سیستان وقندهار وافغانستان کردم اینست که چون مملکت خراسان بتسخیر در آمد امراي من کنکاش گفتند که افواج به تسخیر این سه ملک تعیین باید کرد من گفتم که اگر با افواج کار میسر نشود ناچار مرا عنان عزیمت بدآن صوب معطوف باید

AND the Ameer ul Omurau of Ameer Hooſſein was the governor of Buddukhſhaun; and he had met me face to face many times, and had fought againſt me. And when he heard that Ameer Hooſſein was ſlain, he feared my juſtice, and he collected himſelf together. And if I had appointed an army to ſeize him, it would not have been proper.

AND I feigned negligence toward him; and I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſpeak well of his conduct, and praiſe his courage and his magnanimity in the aſſemblies, and among the people: until his friends wrote unto him, ſaying, "Ameer Timour is inclined to ſhew "favour and mercy unto thee." And he ſupplicated me ſubmiſſively, and he reſted on my clemency and favour; and he came to me for protection.

THE DESIGN which I formed for ſubduing the capital city of Khorauſaun, was this. When the kingdom of Bullukh, and the caſtle of Shaudumaun, and the countries of Buddukhſhaun were ſubdued; and when Ameer Hooſſein was ſlain; the news thereof came to Mullik Gheaus u deen the ruler of Khorauſaun, and he trembled for himſelf. And he began to gather together his ſoldiers and his army; and he ſought to ſecure himſelf.

AND I ſaw my ſucceſs in this, that I ſhould throw the people of Khorauſaun into the ſleep of negligence: and for this reaſon I turned back the reins of

وامیر الامراء وي که در بدخشانات حاکم بود وبارها بمن رو برو شده وشمشیرها زده بود وچون شنید که امیر حسین بقتل رسیــد از سیاست من ترسید وخـودرا جمع ساخت واکر من لشکر بکرفتن وي تعین میکردم لایق نمي بود

ودر کار وي تغافل کردم وکنکاش درین دیدم که در مجالس ومحافل ذکر خیر وتعریف شجاعت ومردانکي وي کردم تا آنکه دوستان وي بوي نوشتند که امیر با تو در مقام مرحمت وعنایت است ووي بمن عرضه داشت کرده تکیه بر عنایت ومروت من نمود وپناه بمن آورد

کنکاشي که در تسخیر دارالملک خراسان کردم این بود که چون ولایت بلخ وحصار شادمان وبدخشانات مسخر من شد وامیـر حسین مقتول کردید خبر آن بملک غیاث الدین حاکم خراسان رسید وبر خود بلرزید ودر مقام جمعیت سپاه ولشکر در آمد ومیخواست که خودرا استحکام دهد

کنکاش خـودرا درین دیدم که اهل خـراسان را در خواب غفلت اندازم وازین جهته عنان عزیمت

brought forth his tents from the land of Bullukh, with a resolution to drive me out and destroy me. And they brought unto me this news, and I saw my advantage in this, that even before Ameer Hoossein could put himself in motion, I should go down upon him. Book I.

AND I turned toward Bullukh, with the people that were with me: and my victorious forces came from all parts, and from all sides, and were gathered together. And having arrived on the borders of the land of Bullukh, I pitched my tents. And Ameer Hoossein came forth to fight with, and expel, me; and it availed him not. And he entered into the castle, and was enclosed therein. And that befel him which did befall him. †

CONCERNING those who had done evil unto me, and who, reflecting on their evil doings, thought in their hearts that I should slay them, thus I acted.

WHEN Ameer Hoossein fell into my hands, and his Servants and his Ameers were suspicious of me, that I would slay them; although I had determined to put them to death, yet, as they were warriors, I saw it was good that I should dispel their fears, and employ them in war. ‡

‡ The principal Ameers of Bullukh having revolted from Timour, and submitted to their former prince Sooltaun Ahmud Iullauir.

AND

ایشانرا از اهل وفاق میدانست وبقصد دفع ورفع من از
خطه بلخ پیشخانه بیرون کشید واین خبر بمن آوردند
وقابوي خودرا درین دیدم که تا امیر حسین بحرکت
در آید خودرا بر سر وي برسانم

وبا جماعه که حاضر بودند متوجه بلخ
شدم ودر راه افواج قاهره از اطراف وجوانب آمده جمع
شدند وبحوالي خطه بلخ رسیده نزول نمودم وامیر
حسین بمدافعه ومقاتله بر آمد وصرفه نبرد وبقلعه در
آمده متحصن شد وآمد بر سرش انچه آمد

در باب ایل ساختن آنها که با من بدیها
کرده ازمن متوهم بودند ونظر بر بدیهاي خود نموده در
خاطر داشتند که من آنها را خواهم کشت چنین کنکاش
کردم

که چون امیر حسین بدست من گرفتار
شد نوکران وامراي وي بر من گمان کردند که ایشانرا
خواهم کشت اگرچه من در مقام کشتن ایشان بودم
اما چون سپاهي بودند کنکاش درین دیدم که ایشانرا
مستمال ساخته بکارهاي سپاهکري تعین نمایم

† He was obliged to deliver up the caſtle to Timour, from whom he received a promiſe of perſonal ſafety; but was ſlain nevertheleſs ſome days after by certain of that prince's officers whom he had formerly injured. Vid. *Hiſtoire de Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 191.

وامیر

and ſaw the duſt raiſed by my people; they quitted the caſtles, night after night, and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from thoſe oppreſſors who had ſought to ſlay me: and that kingdom ſubmitted to my government.

AND I regarded the ties of kindred, and gave to Ameer Hooſſein the country of Bullukh and the caſtle of Shaudumaun. And he perceived not the degree of my kindneſs and regard; and he ſought to deſtroy me. And in reducing Ameer Hooſſein thus I determined.

WHEN he ſaw the ſigns of my victories and conqueſts, his envy was excited; and he moleſted me, and he moleſted his ſiſter who was in my houſe; and he ſought to take Mauwur u Nuhur from me. And he girded up his loins to ſlay me. And he came forth many times to fight with me: and he was defeated every time.

WHEN his iniquity and injuſtice had reached the limits of exceſs, and it was near that he ſhould become conqueror over me, and expel me; in thoſe days his Ameers, becauſe of the evils which he had done unto them, turned back from him. And he ſlew Humoochee, the brother of Ameer Ki Khiſſero, the ruler of Khuttulaun. And Ameer Ki Khiſſero rebelled in Khuttulaun.

AND his Ameers were in a ſtate of enmity; and he thought that they were his friends. And he

رسید وگرد وغبار افواج را دیدند شب بشب قلعها را خالي ساخته بدر رفتند وساحت ماوراالنهر از وجود آن ظالمان که قصد کشتن من کرده بودند پاک شد وآن مملکت مسخر من گشت

ومن صلهء رحم نگاهداشته ولایت بلخ وحصار شادمانرا بامیر حسین ارزاني داشتم ووي قدر احسان ومروت مرا ندانست وقصد استیصال من کرد ومن کنکاش در استیصال امیر حسین چنین کردم

که چون وي اثار فتح ونصرت مرا دید عرق حسدش بحرکت درآمد وازارها بمن وهمشیره اش که در خانه من بود رسانید وقصد کرد که ماوراالنهر از من بگیرد وبکشتن من کمر بست وبارها بمصاف من برآمد وهر مرتبه شکست یافت

چون بی اعتدالي وبي انصافي وي بحد افراط رسید ونزدیک شد که بر من غالب آید ومرا مستاصل گرداند در آن وقت امراي وي از بد سلوکي که بایشان میکرد از وي برگشتند وبرادر امیر کي خسرو حاکم ختلان را همچوچي بقتل آورد وامیر کی خسرو در ختلان باغي شد

چون امراي وي در مقام نفاق بودند ووي ایشانرا

"Say, O Zephyr, to that friend, the layer of the ſnares
"of treachery,
"Doth not the treachery return back to the doer of
"treachery?"

And when Ameer Hooſſein received my meſſage, he was aſhamed and confounded; and he made excuſes. And I had faith in him no more, and I was no more deceived by his words.

In making clean the land of Tooraun from thoſe of the tribe of Ouzbuk who had eſcaped the ſword, thus I acted.

When I drove forth from Mauwur u Nuhur the armies of Jitteh, and of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and forced them to croſs the waters of Khujjund, certain of the troops of Ouzbuk were encloſed in the caſtles of Mauwur u Nuhur; and when I ſought to ſend forces upon them, it came into my mind that perhaps the war might be tedious and of long duration.

And at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuks continued in the caſtles; and I ſaw it was not good that I ſhould ſend my armies againſt them. And I wrote a ſummons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I ſent forces along with him. And I commanded them to ſhew themſelves, and to raiſe a great duſt.

And when the Ouzbuks received the ſummons of Ouleaus Khaujeh, calling them unto him,

صبا بگوی بآن یار دام مکر نهنده
که مکر باز نگردد مکر بمکر کننده

چون پیغام من بامیر حسین رسید خجل ومنفعل شد وعذر خواست ومن دیگر بروی اعتماد نکردم وبسخنان وی فریفته نشدم

کنکاش در پاک ساختن توران زمین از بقیه السیف طایفه اوزبک چنین کردم
که چون لشکر جته والیاس خواجه را از ماورالنهر بر آوردم واز آب خجند گذرانیدم بعضی افواج اوزبکان در قلعهای ماورالنهر مستحکم بودند وچون خواستم که افواج بر ایشان تعین کنم وبخاطرم خطور کرد که مبادا کار بدور ودراز بکشد
در آن وقت خبر بمن رسید که اوزبکان در قلعها قایم شده اند وصلاح در آن ندیدم که افواج خودرا بر ایشان تعین نمایم ویرلیغی از جانب الیاس خواجه نوشتم وبه اوزبکی دادم وفوجی همراه وی کردم وامر نمودم که خودرا نمودار سازند وگرد وغبار برانگیزند
وچون برلیغ طلب الیاس خواجه بایشان رسید

inform me of his deſigns. And Share Behraum, who was of my friends, informed me of the deſigns of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein ſlew him; and ſet out with a thouſand horſemen to come upon me. Book I.

And at that time I had pitched my tents at the entrance of the paſs, and this news came unto me. And I ordered my forces: and, behold, the vanguard of Ameer Hooſſein appeared in ſight. And my Kurrauvulaun brought word, ſaying, "It is the army of Ameer "Hooſſein; and, lo! Ameer Hoſſein himſelf cometh "not with them: for he hath heard that Ameer † is come "alone, and he hath ſent an army to ſeize thee."

And, behold, I was prepared; and two hundred horſemen were all that were with me. And I waited until the forces of Ameer Hooſſein had entered the paſs: and I ſent a meſſenger to the people whom I had ſent before me, and I commanded them to ſeize the way of their retreat. And I myſelf oppoſed them face to face. And I encloſed my enemies in that paſs, and I took many priſoners. And I gathered my people together, and I ordered them, and ſet out towards Kurſhee. And by experience it was known unto me, that a friend in all places cometh to uſe. ‡

And I wrote to Ameer Hooſſein the ſenſe of this verſe, in the Toorki ‖ language;

† i. e. Timour.
‡ Alluding to the intelligence which he had received from Share Behraum.
‖ i. e. the Mogul.

Say,

بودند پیغام دادم که از اراده امیر حسین مرا آگاه گردانند وشیر بهرام که از دوستان من بود مرا بر اراده امیر حسین آگاه ساخت وامیر حسین اورا بقتل آورد وبا هزار سوار بر سر من روان شد

در آن وقت من در سر دره فرود آمده بودم که این خبر بمن رسید وتزوک فوج خود کردم ودربن حال طلایه لشکر امیر حسین نمودار شد وقراولان خبر آوردند که فوج امیر حسین است واینک امیر حسین خود نمي آید چون شنیده که امیر تنها آمده است فوج بگرفتن شما تعین نموده

ومن مستعد شدم وهمکي با من دو صد سوار بودند وصبر کردم تا آنکه فوج امیر حسین بدره در آمد وبمردمي که پیش از خود فرستاده بودم امر کردم که راه برگشتن ایشانرا بگیرند ومن خود بایشان رو برو شدم ومخالفانرا در آن دره در میان گرفتم واکثر را دستگیر کردم ومردم خود را جمع ساخته وتزوک نموده روانه قرشي شدم وبتجربه من رسید که دوست در همه جا بکار مي آید

وبامیر حسین مضمون این بیت بترکي نوشتم

صبا

THUS I acted for my deliverance from the treachery and perfidy of Ameer Hooſſein, who ſought to make me his priſoner. Book I.

WHEN Ameer Hooſſein ſent unto me a KORAUN, by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendſhip and brotherly affection towards me; and ſent a meſſage unto me, ſaying, "If there "be ought in my heart contrary to that which I ſay; "and if I break my oath, and do evil unto thee, may "this book of God ſeize upon me;"— ſeeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words: even until he ſent a perſon unto me, and a meſſage, ſaying, "If it may be ſo that we may ſee each "other in the paſs of Chukchuk, and renew our antient "faith, truly it will be better."

AND this was his deſign, that by perfidy and treachery he might ſeize upon me. And although I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word, or on his oath; yet, out of reſpect to the holy KORAUN, I reſolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would firſt ſend a number of my reſolute warriors, and ſecrete them round about the paſs of Chukchuk, and that I myſelf would go with another body of my people and ſee Ameer Hooſſein.

AND I ſent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooſſein, that they ſhould

کنکاش خلاص خود از مکر وخدعهٔ امیر
حسین که میخواست مرا دستگیر سازد چنین کردم
که چون امیر حسین مصحفی که بآن
قسم خورده بود که مرا بجز دوستی ومراعات خویشي
چیزي دیگر بخاطر نیست نزد من فرستاد وگفته
فرستاد که اگر خلاف آنچه میگویم امري دیگر بخاطرم
باشد واگر نقض عهد نموده ترا بدي بکنم این
مصحف خدا مرا بگیرد وچون ویرا مسلمان میدانستم
بر قول وي اعتماد کردم تا آنکه کس نزد من فرستاد
وپیغام داد که اگر چنان شود که در تنگ چکچک
با یکدیگر ملاقات نماییم وتجدید عهد سابق کنیم
حقا که بهتر خواهد بود

ومقصدش این بود که بمکر وفریب مرا
دستگیر نماید ومن میدانستم که بر عهد وقول وي
چندان اعتمادي نیست اما بنابر تعظیم مصحف قرار
دادم که بملاقات وي نهضت نمایم وکنکاش کردم
که اول جمعي از بهادران مردانه را فرستاده در حوالي
وحواشی دره چکچک پنهان سازم وخود با جمعی
رفته با امیر حسین ملاقات نمایم

وبدوستان خود که در خدمت امیر حسین
بودند

my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbuſhur and Abdullah, who had been born in my houſe. And when I came to the border of the ditch, I ſaw that the ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and I beheld a waterpipe; † and water ran through that pipe to the caſtle, and they had laid it acroſs the ditch.

AND I delivered my horſe to Mubbuſhur, and I croſſed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and ſtruck on the door with my hand; and I diſcovered that the guards of the portal were aſleep.

AND they had filled up the portal behind the door with clay and with earth. And I looked round the walls of the caſtle, and ſaw the place where the ſteps of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I mounted my horſe, and went back to my warriors.

AND the troops who had remained behind came with the ladders, and they were all armed; and they took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the caſtle. And they croſſed the ditch on the pipe; and having fixed their ladders, they entered on the walls of the caſtle. And when forty reſolute men had entered the caſtle, I alſo placed my foot on the ladder, and went in unto them. And they ſounded their trumpets; and by the favour of Almighty God I obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

AND when this news reached the ears of Ameer Hooſſein, he entered into the road of deceit and diſſimulation; and, under the cloak of friendſhip and intimacy, he ſought to bring me into his power.

† A trunk of a tree hollowed into a pipe

THUS

در آمد بهادران را امر نهودم که توقف نهایند ومبشر وعبد الله که خانه زاد بچکان من بودند همراه کرفته وچون بکنار خندق رسیدم دیدم که خندق پر از آب است ونظر بر اطراف کردم وترناوي که آب از آن بقلعه میرفت وبر روي خندق انداخته بودند بنظرم در آمد

واسپ را به مبشر سپرده واز بالا ترناو از خندق کذشته بخاک ریز قلعه رسیدم وخودرا بدروازه رسانیدم ودستي بر در زدم ویافتم که دروازهبانان در خوابند

ودروازه را بپشت در بخاک وکل انپاشته اند واطراف دیوار قلعه را ملاحظه نهودم وجايء که زینه ونردبان توان کذاشت دیدم ومراجعت نهودم وسوار شده خودرا به بهادران رسانیدم

وفوجي که در عقب مانده بود با نردبانها رسیدند وهمکي مسلح شده ونردبانها را برداشتند ورو بقلعه آوردم واز خندق بر روي ترناو کذشتند وزینه ها کذاشته بدیوار قلعه بر آمدند چون چهل مرد مردانه داخل قلعه شدند من هم قدم بر نردبان کذاشته بقلعه در آمدم وکرنا وبرغو* کشیدند وبتوفیق تنکري تعالی قلعه را مسخر کردانیدم

چون این خبر بمسامع امیر حسین رسید در مقام مکر وفریب در آمد ومیخواست که در لباس اشنايء ودوستي مرا در قید خودرا آورد

کنکاش

Amuveah until the ſpy brought word, that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Mooſi, ſaying; "We ſaw Ameer Timour on the border of the "waters of Amuveah; and he was going toward Kho-"rauſaun." Book I.

AND when Ameer Mooſi and the forces of Ameer Hooſſein heard this news, they were glad of heart; and they pitched their tents, and ſpread abroad the carpet of riot and diſſipation.

AND when I received intelligence thereof, I ſelected two hundred and forty three brave, and reſolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces; and I re-croſſed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched quick, and I arrived at Sharekund. And I halted for one night and for one day. And I marched from thence with great ſpeed; and I alighted at the diſtance of a furſung from the caſtle of Kurſhee.

AND I commanded that they ſhould make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Yaukoo kneeled before me, and ſaid, "Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they "ſhall arrive, delay is neceſſary." And at this time it came into my mind that I would go alone and examine the caſtle.

AND I took forty warriors with me, and I turned my face toward the caſtle of Kurſhee. And when the blackneſs of the caſtle appeared in ſight, I commanded

جاسوس خبر آورد که کاروانیان خبر بامیر موسی رسانیدند که امیر تیمور را در کنار آب امویه دیدیم که بطرف خراسان میرفت

چون این خبر بامیر موسي ولشکر امیر حسین رسید خوشدل شدند ورحل اقامت انداخته بساط عیش وعشرت بکسترانیدند

چون این خبر بمسامع من رسید از لشکر خود دو صد وچهل وسه جوان بهادر مردانه کار کرده آزموده را جدا ساختم واز آب کذشته ایلغار کردم ودر موضع شیرکنت رسیدم ویک شب ویک روز مقام کردم واز آنجا ایلغار کرده در یك فرسنکي قلعه قرشي نزول نمودم

وفرمودم که چند نردبان بریسمانها باهم بسته طیار سازند دربن وقت امیر جاکو زانو زده بعرض رسانید که جماعه از بهادران در عقب مانده اند تا رسیدن ایشان توقف ضرور است دربن وقت بخاطرم رسید که تا رسیدن بهادران خود تنها رفته قلعه را ملاحظه نمایم

وچهل سوار بهادر را همراه کرفته رو بطرف قلعه قرشی آوردم چون سیاهی حصار بنظر در

of Kurſhee: and he afterwards ſent five thouſand horſemen more. And he took meaſures for my deſtruction. 

And on this account the honour of my ſtation urged me on, that I ſhould take from him the caſtle of Kurſhee. And certain of my Ameers counſelled me, that I ſhould go and ſeize it by force. But concerning the reduction of the caſtle of Kurſhee I deliberated thus — If I attempt to reduce it by a ſiege, perhaps my forces may be repulſed. And in a ſiege ſeveral dangers occurred to my mind; and I rejected that meaſure.

And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould turn my face toward Khorauſaun, until the hearts of the keepers of the caſtle ſhould be at reſt; and that then I ſhould return and march with ſpeed, and aſſault the caſtle by ſurpriſe, and reduce it. And I marched, and went toward Khorauſaun.

When I croſſed the waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khorauſaun; and they were journeying toward Kurſhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts unto me, and I aſked of him the ſtate of the Ameers of Khorauſaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khorauſaun; and I diſmiſſed him.

And I ſent a ſpy with the people of the Kauruvvaun, and I tarried on the border of the waters of

کرد وپنج هزار سوار دیکر هم فرستاد ودر مقام استیصال من در آمد

وازین جهته غیرت سلطنت من طغیان کرد که قلعه قرشی را از وی بکیرم بعضی امرای من کنکاش دادند که رفته بجنک قلعه را مسخر کردانم من کنکاش کرفتن قلعه قرشی را چنین کردم که اکر خواهم که بجنک مسخر کردانم مبادا چشم زخمی بلشکر من برسد ودر جنک چند خطر بخاطر من خطور کرد جنک را طرح کردم

وکنکاش درین دیدم که بجانب خراسان متوجه شوم تا خاطر قلعه داران جمع شود وآنکاه برکشته ایلغار کنم وشبخون بقلعه برده مسخر کردانم وکوچ نموده متوجه خراسان شدم

چون از آب اموبه عبور نمودم کاروانی از جانب خراسان آمده بود ومتوجه قرشی میرفت وقافله سالار آن کاروان ارمغانی بمن آورد من از احوال امرای خراسان از وی پرسش کردم ورفتن خودرا بولایت خراسان بوی اظهار نمودم وایشانرا رخصت دادم

وجاسوسی همراه کاروانیان کردم وخود در کنار آب مقام نمودم تا آنکه

جاسوس

AND Ameer Khizzur Yessooree, assisted by the tribe of Yessoor, had taken possession of the province of Taushkund. And I reconciled Aljauitoo Burdi and Ki Khissero to each other, and sent forces with them; until they went, and over-run, and pillaged the tribe of Yessoor. And the power of Ameer Khizzur was reduced low, and he fled to me for protection.

AND when I had cleared the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from discord and anarchy, my armies acquired great strength; and the tribe of Burlaus obtained renown; and the Kushoonaut and the Toumaunaut of Chughtauee became celebrated on account of my exploits.

AND I became the ruler of all the tribes, and of the Kushoonaut, and of the Toumaunaut, and of the people. But certain castles of Mauwur u Nuhur were in the possession of Ameer Hoossein; and in them my authority was not established.

AND when Ameer Hoossein beheld my might and my power, his envy was excited against me. And he exalted the standard of hostility, and he broke his oaths. And I advanced a great way toward him, and he came not at all toward me. † And he took from me the castle of Kurshee by fraud. And he appointed Ameer Moosi, with seven thousand horsemen, to guard the castle

† i. e. Endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, to which Ameer Hoossein continued adverse.

of

وامیر خضر یسوری ولایت تاشکنت را باتفاق احشام یسوري متصرف شده بود والجایتو بردي وکي خسرو را بیکدیکر آشتی دادم وجماعه را همراه ایشان کردم تا رفته احشام یسوري را تاخت وتالان کردند وامیر خضر عاجز شده پناه بمن آورد

چون ولایت ماورالنهر را از هرج ومرج پاک ساختم افواج قاهره من قوت تمام یافت والوس برلاس نامدار شد وقشونات وتومانات چغتاي از همت من بلند آوازه کردید

وبر جمیع ایل وقشونات وتومنات واحشام فرمان فرما کشتم لیکن بعضي قلعهاء ماورالنهر در تصرف امیر حسین بود حکم من در آنجا جاري نبود

وامیر حسین چون عظمت وشوکت مرا مشاهده نمود عرق حسدش بحرکت در آمد وعلم مخالفت برافراخت ونقض عهد نمود من بجانب وي بسیار رفتم واو هیچ بطرف من نیامد وبلطایف الحیل قلعه قرشي را از من کرفت وامیر موسی را با هفت هزار سوار بقلعه قرشي تعیین کرد

AND to Ameer Bauezeed Jullauir, who was ruler over the province of Khojjund, I gave advice: but it made not an impreſſion upon him, until the people of his tribe roſe up againſt him, and ſeized him, and brought him unto me. And I exalted him and cauſed him to bluſh. † Book I.

AND to Ameer Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, who had exalted the ſtandard of power in the city of Bullukh, I oppoſed Ameer Hooſſein; who laid claim to the imperial city ‡ of his grandfather, Ameer Kurghun.

AND Mahummud Khaujeh Erudee (who was of the hord of Tauemun) having ſeized on the country of Shereghaunaut, had exalted the ſtandard of enmity againſt me: and I gave him another province, and made him my ſervant.

AND the princes of Buddukhſhaun, who ruled over the countries of Buddukhſhaun, had elevated the enſigns of hoſtility againſt me. And I dealt artfully with each of them, || until they diſputed among themſelves, and returned back unto me.

AND Ki Khiſſero, and Aljauitoo Burdi had ſeized on the countries of Khuttulaun, and Arhung. And I ſent aſſiſtance to Ki Khiſſero, until he went and took poſſeſſion of the lands of Aljauitoo Burdi: and Aljauitoo Burdi came to me for ſhelter.

‡ i.e. The city of Bullukh.

|| i.e. Sowed animoſities among them, and by that means obliged them to ſubmit.

وامیر بایزید جلایر که ولایت خجند را
متصرف بود بوي نصیحت کردم اما دروي اثر نکرد تا
آنکه مردم الوس وي بروي خروج کرده وکرفتار ساخته
نزد من آوردند ومن ويرا بنواختم وشرمنده ساختم

وايلچي بوغا سلدوز در بلخ علم سلطنت
برافراخته بود وامير حسين که طلب تختکاه جد
خودرا امیر قرغن مینمود بوي در انداختم

ومحمد خواجه ايردي که از اويماق
نايمن بود ولايت شيرغانات را متصرف شده علم
مخالفت من برافراخته بود وديكر ولايت بوي دادم
ووي را نوکر خود ساختم

وشهان بدخشان که ولايت بدخشانات را
متصرف شده رايت مخالفت من برافراخته بودند با
هريک از ايشان سازکاري كردم تا بيكديكر در
افتادند وبمن رجوع آوردند

وكى خسرو والجايتو بردي ولايت
ختلان وارهنک را متصرف شده بودند وبه كى
خسرو مدد فرستادم تا رفته ولايت الجايتو بردي را
متصرف شد والجايتو بمن پناه آورد

† i.e. By the extraordinary favours, which he conferred upon him, he made him ashamed of his former conduct.

AND I deliberated with myſelf, ſaying, Since God is one and hath no partner, therefore the vicegerent over the land of the Lord (the Almighty and the Holy) muſt be one only. Book I.

AND at this time Baubau Aali Shaah † came before me and ſaid, "TIMOUR, God Almighty "hath declared, that if there were two Gods in the "heavens and in the earth, the order of the univerſe "would end in horror and confuſion." And I took warning by his words.

AND I opened the holy book for an omen, and this ſacred verſe came forth as a ſign, "TRULY WE "HAVE APPOINTED THEE VICEGERENT UPON "EARTH." And I took this omen as a favour from heaven; and I formed meaſures for reducing to ſubmiſſion thoſe Ameers who thought themſelves the partners of my fortune and dominion.

AND I firſt went to the ſtation, and to the dwelling, of Ameer Haujee Burlaus, and I united him with me.

AND Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the ſon of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and ſtrong ſpirits; and in the end the wine deſtroyed him, and he departed from the world, and I took poſſeſſion of his lands.

† One of thoſe Derviſhes who profeſſed ideotiſm. The Eaſt is full of this kind of Santons, who are held in great veneration by the Mahummudans.

بخود کنکاش کردم که چون خدا
یک است ولا شریک له است پس کدخدای ملک
وي تعالي وتقدس هم باید که یکی باشد
درین وقت بابا علي شاه نزد من آمده
کفت تیمور تنکري تعالي فرموده که اکر در زمین
وآسمان دو خدا باشد کار عالم بفساد انجامد ومن
بسخن وي هدایت یافتم

وبقران مجید فال کشادم این آیة
کریمه بفال آمد که انا جعلناک خلیفه في الارض
واین فال را شکون* کرفتم ودر مطبع ساختن امراي
که خودرا شریک دولت وسلطنت میدانستند
کنکاشها کردم

واول بمنزل ویورت امیر حاجی برلاس
رفته ویرا بخود متفق ساختم
وامیر شیخ محمد پسر بیان سلدوز
چون همیشه بشراب وخمر مشغول بود آخر شراب
ویرا کلو کیر ساخت وعالم را وداع نمود ولایت اورا
بتصرف در آوردم

وامیر

And Share Behraum, who had ſeparated from me and returned to his tribe, and remained in a ſtate of diſobedience; to him I gave encouragement, and called him unto me. And he came with his tribe, and ſubmitted to my authority. And I made him my ſervant, and I conferred a province upon him.

And there was relationſhip between me and Ameer Hooſſein: and although I treated him with affection and with kindneſs, he was not my friend; and he even took from me the country of Bullukh and the caſtle of Shaudumaun. And I alſo, for the ſake of his ſiſter who was in my houſe, regarded it not. And I ſhewed ſuch kindneſs unto him, that the Ameers who were in a ſtate of enmity with me, ſubmitted to my authority. But Ameer Hooſſein ſtill acted towards me with treachery and fraud, and ſought to overthrow me: even until I reſolved that I would force him to ſubmiſſion by the edge of the ſword.

And when I became the lord of the land of Tooraun, and had made clean the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from the abominations † of the Ouzbuks; certain of the Ameers of Auloofaut ſubmitted not to my government. And they, with their tribes, diſſembled with me. And certain of my Ameers ſpoke in their behalf, ſaying, "Since we are all partners of the ſame fortune, they muſt be conſidered as the partners of thy fortune alſo." But their words made no impreſſion upon me.

And

† Literally, the weeds and the briars.

وشبر بهرام که جدا شده بالوس خود رفته بود ودر مقام تمرد مي بود وبرا استمالت داده طلب نمودم ووي بالوس خود آمده اطاعت مرا قبول كرد وملازم خود ساخته ولايتي بوي ارزاني داشتم

وچون ميانهٔ من وامير حسين خويشي بود من هرچند مروت ومدارا كردم دوست من نشد تا آنكه ولايت بلخ وحصار شادمان را از من گرفت ومن هم بخاطر همشيرهٔ وي كه در خانهٔ من بود مضايقه نكردم وچندان بوي مدارا كردم كه امراي كه با من در مقام مخالفت بودند مطيع من كشتند ليكن امير حسين هميشه در مقام شكست من ومكر وفريب با من مي بود تا آنكه كنكاش كار وي چنين كردم كه بضرب شمشير وبرا مطيع فرمايم

وچون بر ولايت توران مستولي گشتم وولايت ماورالنهر از خس وخاشاك وجود اوزبكان پاك ساختم بعضى از امراي اولوسات سر باطاعت من فروز نياوردند وهريك با قبايل خود نازش ميكردند وبعضي از امراي من سفارش ايشان ميكردند كه چون همه شريك دولت اند ايشانرا نيز شريك دولت بايد دانست ليكن سخنان ايشان در غيرت سلطنت اثر نمي كرد

بخود

that I ſhould render the Ameers obedient and ſubmiſſive unto me. For each of them thought himſelf a chief of exalted dignity; and each of them deemed himſelf greater than the reſt. And firſt, I named Ameer Hooſſein (the grandſon of Ameer Kurghun) who had exalted the ſtandard of power in Mauwur u Nuhur, the partner of my fortune; and I treated him with attention. And although he outwardly ſhewed friendſhip toward me, yet did he always envy and oppoſe me. Book I.

And he wanted that he himſelf ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the royal throne of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I had no faith in him, and I carried him to the ſepulchre of Khaujeh ſhums u deen, and made him ſwear friendſhip unto me. And he promiſed and ſwore that he would not ſwerve from his engagement.

And concerning his friendſhip with me, he took an oath three times on the holy book. And when at laſt he broke his oaths, his breach of faith delivered him into my hands.

And Sheikh Mahummud, the ſon of Ameer Biaun Suldoze, thought himſelf a mighty chief. And I gained his affections by ſoothings; and I brought him with ſeven Kuſhoons to ſubmit unto me, and I made him my ſervant. And to each of the Ameers of thoſe Kuſhoons I gave the command of a province.

And

وآن کنکاشها این بود که امراي که هریک خودرا
امیر عظیم الشان میدانستند وهریک خودرا از دیکري
بزرکتر میکرفتند مطیع ومنقاد خود کردانم اول
امیر حسین نبیره امیر قزغن که در ماورالنهر علم
سلطنت برافراخته بود ویرا شریک دولت خود خواندم
وبوي مدارا کردم ووی اکرچه ظاهر بمن اظهار دوستي
میکرد اما همیشه در مقام نفاق وحسد با من مي بود
ومیخواست که خود بر تخت سلطنت
ماورالنهر متمکن شود وچون بروي اعتماد نداشتم ویرا
بمزار خواجه شمس الدین برده بر دوستي خود قسم
دادم وبمن عهد وقول کرد که خلاف دوستي نکند
وسه مرتبه دیکر قسم بمصحف مجید در
باب دوستی من خورد وچون آخر نقض عهد کرد
نقض عهد ویرا بمن کرفتار ساخت

وشیخ محمد پسر امیر بیان سلدوز خودرا
امیر کلاني میدانست وویرا استمالت دادم وبا هفت
تشون ایل ومطیع خود کردانیدم وملازم خود ساختم
وبهریک از امراي تشونات مذکور ولایتي ارزاني داشتم

وشیر

AND before the forces of Jitteh could gather themſelves together, my ſoldiers diſperſed them; and in the ſkirmiſh many warriors of both ſides were ſlain. And the forces of Jitteh cried out, "Let us flee;" and they fled. And I came up to Ouleaus Khaujeh and ſaid, Yole Boliſhun. † And when he heard my voice, he rallied his forces in wrath; and they returned. Book I.

AND there was ſkirmiſhing between my army and his army until the riſing of the ſun. And the quivers were emptied, and the enemy fought flying. And they fled even to the diſtance of four furſungs, where their tents were pitched; and they halted there in a broken condition. And I alſo drew in the reins from purſuing them, and came down ‡ in the place where I was.

WHEN the forces of Jitteh ſaw that they were broken and defeated, they ventured not to renew the fight. And I ſpread my ſoldiers round the camp of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I fought with them continually: even until Ouleaus Khaujeh, from extreme neceſſity, croſſed the waters of Khujjund. And I alſo left off purſuing them, and I returned victorious and triumphant to Mauwur u Nuhur.

AND I deliberated concerning the eſtabliſhment of my power; and my deliberations were theſe —

† A Mogul expreſſion of ſalutation, the preciſe meaning of which is not known. ‡ i. e. encamped on the ſpot where he had arrived.

وتا لشکر جته خودرا جمع سازند بهادران
من ایشان را متفرق ساختند ودر چپغولش* که شد مردم
جنکي از طرفین کشته شدند ولشکر جته الغرار کفتند
وکریزان شدند ومن خودرا بالیاس خواجه رسانیده یول
بولشن* کفتم وچون آواز من بمسامع الیاس خواجه
رسید وي از روي غضب لشکر خودرا نهیب داد
ولشکریان وي بر کشتند

وتا طلوع آفتاب میانه لشکر من ولشکر
وي جنک چپغولش* بود وترکشها خالی شد وغنیم
جنک در کریز میکردند تا آنکه در چهار فرسنکي که
یورت ایشان بود شکسته حال رفته نزول نمودند ومن
هم از تعاقب ایشان عنان باز کشیدم ودر همان سر
زمین فرود آمدم

چون لشکر جته خودرا مغلوب ومقهور
دیدند دیکر بجنک مبادرت ننمودند ومن سپاه خودرا
بر دور اردوي الیاس خواجه متفرق ساختم ومحاربات
ومجادلات مینمودم تا آنکه الیاس خواجه از روي اضطرار
از آب خجند کذشت ومن هم تعاقب ایشان را
کذاشته مظفر ومنصور بماورالنهر مراجعت نمودم

ودر استقلال سلطنت خود کنکاشها کردم
وآن

intention was this — that they might bring me down from the mountain apart, and aſſault me. Book I.

And the chiefs of the advanced guard, whom I had defeated, had fled unto Ouleaus Khaujeh for ſhelter; and he had reproved them.

And they ſaw at this time, that I had diſcovered their intentions; and that I came not down from the hill: and from neceſſity they turned back, and came upon me.

And I found it was good, that I ſhould draw up my forces on the declivity of the hill, and enter into battle. And when the army of Jitteh advanced, and came up on the ſlope of the hill, and were unable to act, I gave orders to my warriors, that they ſhould annoy the enemy with flights of arrows. And they wounded numbers of the foe. And as the night was come, the forces of Jitteh ſaw that they could effect nothing: and they encamped on the ſkirts of the hill, that they might ſurround it. And in that night I reſolved thus — that forming my army into four ſquadrons, I myſelf would aſſault them by ſurpriſe. And when this reſolution was impreſſed on the hearts of my Ameers, I mounted my horſe, and I aſſaulted the enemy in four different places unawares, toward the morning.

من کنکاش ایشانرا در یافتم که مطلب ایشان اینست که مرا از کوه جدا بمیدان در آورند وجنگ اندازند

وامرای هرلول را که شکست داده بودم ایشان بالیاس خواجه پناه برده بودند ووی ایشان را سرزنش کرده بود

دربن وقت دیدند که من از کنکاش ایشان واقف شده ام واز کوه بیرون نمي آیم بالضرورة برگشته بر سر من تاخت آوردند

ومن کنکاش چنین یافتم که در دامن کوه افواج خودرا تزوک سازم وبجنگ در آیم چون لشکر جته آمده بدامن کوه در آمدند ومعطل شدند بهادرانرا امر نمودم که مخالفان را بشپهء تیر گرفتند وبسیاري از مخالفان را زخمدار ساختند وچون شب شد ودیدند که کاري نتوانستند ساخت در دامن کوه فرود آمدند که کوه را محاصره نمایند من در آن شب چنین کنکاش یافتم که لشکر خودرا چهار فوج ساخته بذات خود بر ایشان شبخون آورم چون این کنکاش دل نشین امراي من شد قریب بصبح سوار شدم واز چهار طرف بر مخالفان شبخون آوردم

وتا

And I myſelf paſſed over the river with five thouſand horſemen, and came forth on a hill, which was higher than the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I commanded that in the night they ſhould make many fires.

And when the people of Jitteh beheld the fires, and when they ſaw a ſtrong army at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, they were afraid: and the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh paſſed that night in watching.

And I in that night, on the top of that hill, was employed in humiliations and ſupplications to the throne of Almighty God; and I ſent forth prayers on Mahummud (may the bleſſing of God be upon him, and upon his deſcendants, and upon his companions).

And between ſleeping and waking I heard a voice, as of ſome one ſpeaking to me, ſaying, "Timour, "victory and conqueſt and triumph are thine." And when the morning broke, I prayed with my people.

And I ſaw at this time that Ouleaus Khaujeh and his Ameers were mounted on their horſes, and going troop after troop: and my Ameers and my ſoldiers called for orders to purſue them. And I ſaid unto myſelf, I muſt delay to purſue them until their intentions be known.

And after they had travelled four furſungs, they halted: and I diſcovered their deſign. Behold, their intention

ومن خود با پنج هزار سوار از آب كذشته
بر كوهي كه مشرف بر لشكر الياس خواجه بود برآمدم
وفرمودم كه شب آتش بسياري برافروزند

وچون آتشها بنظر لشكر جته در آمد وفوج
كلاني در سر پل سنكين ديدند مضطرب شدند وآن
شب را لشكر الياس خواجه بحاضر باش بكذرانيدند

ومن در آن شب ببالاي كوه بعجز ونياز
بدركاه تنكري تعالي مشغول بودم وصلوات بر محمد
صلي الله عليه وآله واصحابه وسلم ميفرستادم

ودر ميان خواب وبيداري اوازي بمسامع
من رسيد كه شخصي ميكويد كه تيمور فتح وفيروزي
وظفر تراست چون صبح صادق طلوع كرد نماز
بجماعت ادا كردم

ودرينوقت ديدم كه الياس خواجه با امراء
خود سوار شده فوج فوج روان شدند وامرا وسپاه من
در تعاقب نمودن حكم خواستند ومن بخود كنكاش
كردم كه در تعاقب نمودن ايشان تاخير بايد كرد
تا مقصد ايشان معلوم شود

چون چهار فرسنك راه رفتند فرود آمدند
من

being the Hurrauvul, * were advancing) and I overpowered them at the ſecond charge, and I drove them back to the head of the bridge of Sungheen, which was the ſtation of Ouleaus Khaujeh. Book I.

AND as the night was come, I pitched my tents on the ground where I was, and I counſelled with myſelf, that I would not let the plain of battle cool; but that I would charge quick and hot on the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh: and they were near thirty thouſand.

AND I conſidered, that if I was guilty of delay, ſomething might come to paſs, which might cauſe me to ſtand in need of aſſiſtance. And although Ameer Hooſſein was encamped behind me, I did not cauſe myſelf to ſtand in need of his ſupport; but by ſkilful meaſures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh.

THE THIRTEENTH DESIGN which I formed, (in defeating the army of Jitteh and Ouleaus Khaujeh) was this. DESIGN XIII.

FIRST, I ſaw it was good, that by a body of my victorious army, I ſhould confine and make uſeleſs the people of Jitteh: and for this purpoſe I ſtationed Ameer Muviud Arlaut, and Ouj Kurrau Bahaudur, and Ameer Mooſi, with two thouſand horſemen, at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, oppoſite to Ouleaus Khaujeh.

* Advanced guard.

AND

هراول شده می آمدند رسیدم ودر حمله دوم ایشانرا مقهور ساختم وتا کنار پل سنکین که منزل الیاس خواجه بود هزیمت دادم

چون شب در آمد بسر زمینی که رسیده بودم نزول نمودم با خود کنکاش کردم که میدان جنک افسرده نکـردانم وکرم کرم بسر لشکر الیاس خواجه که قریب به سی هزار اند ترکتاز آورم

وکنکاش کردم که اکر توقف نمایم مبادا امری روی دهد که در علاج آن محتاج کومک کردم با آنکه امیر حسین در عقب منزل داشت لیکن من خودرا بمدد وی محتاج نکردانیدم وبه کنکاش درست لشکر الیاس خواجه را شکست دادم

کنکاش سیزدهم که در شکست دادن لشکر جته والیاس خواجه نمودم این بود

که اول لشکر الیاس خواجه را بجمعی از افواج قاهره مقید ومعطل نکاهدارم بدین جهته امیر موید ارلات واوج قرا بهادر وامیر موسی را با دو هزار سـوار بـر سـر پـل رو بـروی الـیـاس خـواجـه نـکـاهـداشتم .

ومن

between hope and fear, and I appointed a Kotul * to each. Book I.

AND I raiſed the hopes of all my ſoldiers by gifts and by preſents: and I drew them over unto me by kind words, and by an open countenance. And the ſervices which they had done, I extolled ten-fold, and made them joyful: even until thoſe who were with me, and thoſe who were againſt me, all joined with me firmly. And they took an oath, that in ſupporting me, and in devoting their lives unto me, they would not be wanting.

AND when my heart was at reſt concerning my army, I prepared for the war of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And in defeating him, and in planning the order of battle, thus I determined — that I would uſe ſpeed, and that I would go down upon them before they were aware.

AND concerning this I opened the holy book for an omen; and this ſacred verſe came forth as a ſign, "How oft do the weak vanquiſh the powerful by "the permiſſion of Almighty God!"

AND when I had obtained this token, I formed my ſoldiers in order, and I divided them into ſeven ſquadrons, and I ſet out. And I came in the morning upon Tughulluk Suldoze and Ki Khiſſero, (who,

among his Ameers, by placing a ſpy (for ſuch was the Kotul) over the conduct of each of them, but made every province anſwer the purpoſe of .tisfying *two* inſtead of *one* of his Ameers.

وبیم نگاهداشتم واز براي هريکي کوتلي * تعين کردم
وسایر سپاه را به لقمه وخرقه امیدوار
گردانیدم وبشیرین زباني وگشاده روي ایشانرا فریفته
خود ساختم وخدمات ایشانرا یکی بده باز نموده
خوشدل گردانیدم تا آنکه موافق ومنافق همکی
بمن متفق کشتند وعهد بستند که با من در
موافقت وجانسپاري بتقصیر راضي نشوند

چون خاطرم از لشکر جمع شد مستعد
جنک الیاس خواجه شدم ودر دفع ایشان وروش جنک
چنین کنکاش کردم که پیش دستي بکار برم وتا
ایشانرا خبر شود بر ایشان ترکتاز آورم
درین باب بقران مجید فال کشادم
این اية کریمه بفال آمد کم من فیة قلیلة غلبت
فیة کثیرة باذن الله

وچون این بشارت یافتم لشکر خودرا
تزوک کرده وهفت فوج مرتب ساخته روان شدم بر
وقت صبح بر سر تغلق سلدوز و کی خسرو که

* *Kotul* is a Mogul word, and ſignifies one appointed to ſucceed to the government on the death or diſmiſſion of the governor. By this artful policy he not only ſecured his authority over the provinces which he divided among

vants) had taken the command of ſix thouſand horſemen of Jitteh, and were bringing them down upon me. And when this news reached the ears of my people, the terror of their hearts was increaſed, and they were ſore afraid. But I found that Ameer Jaukoo, and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen were with me. Book I.

THE TWELFTH DESIGN which I formed (in uniting the hearts of my people) was this. DESIGN XII.

I CALLED unto me in private Ameer Jaukoo and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen; and I ſought to confederate them with me. And when I retired with them in private, my words with them were theſe —"That I had made them "the partners of my fortune." * And they united firmly in my deſigns.

AND of thoſe who were diſſatisfied, I called each of them unto me in private, and ſpoke to them ſeparately. And thoſe who were covetous and avaricious, I tempted by wealth and by riches; and thoſe who fixed their eyes on dignities, and commands, and governments, among them I ſhared out the countries and the provinces which I had ſubdued: and I kept them all ſuſpended

wur u Nuhur, certain principalities ſhould be given to them, and rendered independent of the crown.

بودند شش هزار سوار جته سر کرده بر سر من مي
آورند چون این خبر بمسامع لشکر من رسید تفرقه
خاطر ایشان بیشتر شد واندیشناک کشتند لیکن
امیر جاکو وایکو تیمور وامیر سلیمان وامیر جلال
الدین را بخود یافتم

کنکاش دوازدهم که در باب اتفاق لشکر خود کردم این بود

که امیر جاکو وایکو تیمور وامیر سلیمان وامیر جلال الدین را بخلوت طلب داشته خواستم ایشانرا بخود متفق کردانم چون بایشان خلوت کردم سخن بدیشان این بود که ایشانرا شریک دولت خود ساختم تا بر عزیمت خود راسخ شدند

وطایفه که در مقام بي اتفاق بودند یک یک را بخلوت طلب داشته جداکانه صحبت داشته آنهاي که حریص وطماع بودند بمال ومنال فریفته ساختم وکروهی را که نظر بر جاه ومنصب ومملکت داشتند انچه از ملک وولایت مسخر من شده بود بدیشان نامزد کردم وهمه را در میانه امید

* This expreſſion occurs in ſeveral places, and is very obſcure. Perhaps it means, that if he ſucceeded in his views on the kingdom of Mauwur

وبیم

AND I went and ſojourned in the paſture-lands of the Duſht of Koulauk. And I appointed ſpies, that they ſhould go and bring news of the armies of Jitteh and of Ouleaus Khaujeh.

AND after ten days the ſpies brought back intelligence, ſaying; "The Ameers of Jitteh (and the firſt of them is Kooch Timour, the ſon of Begchuck; and the ſecond of them is Timour Noubukaun; and the others are Saureek Bahaudur, and Shungoom, and Tughulluk Khaujeh, the brother of Khaujee Beg) with twenty thouſand horſemen, have pitched their tents from the town of Khillautee even to the bridge of Sungheen."

AND they ſent an ambaſſador unto me, that they might know my ſituation and the ſtrength of my army. And I drew out my army twice in the ſight of the ambaſſador, and diſmiſſed him.

AND I ſaw my advantage in this, that I ſhould ſet out after the ambaſſador: but I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſhew kindneſs to ſome, and that with ſome I ſhould diſſemble; and that I ſhould tempt ſome by riches, and ſoothe ſome by perſuaſions, and promiſes, and engagements.

AND at this time news arrived, that Tughulluk Suldoze, and Ki Khiſſero (who were of my ſer-

vants)

ومـن رفته در جلكاي دشت كولك
اقامت نمودم وجاسوسان تعين كردم كه رفته از لشكر
جته والياس خواجه خبر آورند

وجاسوسان بعد از ده روز خبر آوردنـد
كه امراي جته اول ايشان كوج تيمور پسر بيكچك
اسـت ودوم ايشان تيمور نوبكان اسـت وساريق بهادر
وشنكوم وتغلق خواجه برادر حاجي بيك با بيست هزار
سوار از موضع خلاتي تا پل سنكين نزول نموده اند

وايلچي نزد من فرستادند كه احوال مرا
ولشكر مرا بخاطر آورند من لشكر خودرا دو باره بنظر
ايلچي در آوردم وايلچي را رخصت دادم

وكنكاش خودرا درين يافتم كه متعاقب
ايلچى روان شوم ليكن لشكر خودرا بخود متفق نديدم
ودر متفق ساختن لشكر خود كنكاش چنين ديدم
كه به بعضى مـروت نمايم وبه بعضى مدارا كنم
وكروهي را بمال فريفته سازم وجمعى را بسخن وقول
وعهد تسلي دهم

دريـن حـال خـبـر رسيد كه تغلق
سـلـدوز وكـي خـسـرو كـه از نوكـران من
بودند

and we ſaw each other, and we made a feaſt. And I found it was right, that I ſhould go on towards Buddukhſhaun. And when I came to Kunduz, I halted in that place until the chiefs of the people of Yeurldaiee came together and joined me. And I gave to each of them a robe of honour, and I encouraged them. Book I.

AND when the news of the order and the ſtrength of my forces arrived to the princes of Buddukhſhaun, they prepared for war. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould be quick, and break their power, before they could gather their army together. And I marched with expedition, and I came to Taulkhaun.

AND when the news of my arrival at Taulkhaun reached the ears of the princes, they came in at the avenue of peace and ſaw me. I was ſatisfied with my own deliberations, and ſaw that I had not done wrong. And my power was eſtabliſhed in the country of Buddukhſhaun; and many of the ſoldiers of Buddukhſhaun came unto me and choſe my ſervice.

THE ELEVENTH DESIGN which I formed for extending my power, was this. DESIGN XI.

WHEN the princes of Buddukhſhaun came and ſubmitted to my authority, I turned towards Khuttulaun. And when I came into the kingdom of Khuttulaun, Boulaud Booghau and Share Behraum, on account of the ill conduct of Ameer Hooſſein, ſeparated and returned to their tribes.

همشیره وي در خانه من بود آمده باهم ملاقات
نمودیم وطویهاي دادیم وکنکاش دربن یافتم که
روانه بدخشان شوم چون بقندز رسیدم در آن موضع
اقامت نمودم تا آنکه سرداران ایل یورلداي جمع آمده
بمن پیوستند وبهریک خلعتي داده تسلي نمودم

چون خبر اراستکي فوج من بشاهان
بدخشان رسید مستعد جنگ شدند کنکاش دربن
دیدم که پیش دستي کرده تا ایشان لشکرهای خودرا
جمع سازند ایشانرا در هم شکنم وایلغار کرده خودرا
بطالخان رسانیدم

چون خبر رسیدن من بطالخان بمسامع
شاهان رسید از راه مصالحه در آمده ملازمت کردند
من از کنکاش خود راضي شدم ودیدم که غلط نکرده
بودم وسلطنت من در ولایت بدخشان رواج یافت
واکثري از سپاه بدخشان آمده ملازمت اختیار کردند

کنکاش یازدهم که در رواج سلطنت خود
کردم این بود
که چون شاهان بدخشان با طاعت من
در آمدند متوجه ختلان شدم چون بمملکت ختلان
در آمدم بولاد بوغا وشیر بهرام از بد سلوکي امیر
حسین جدا شده بالوس خود رفتند

ومن

AND the land in which I had pitched my tents was a peninſula: and it had water on three ſides. Some tents, which were without the peninſula, were plundered by the forces of Jitteh: and the people that were without, came and entered into the peninſula. Book I.

AND I formed my troops in order, and went and ſtood on the neck of the peninſula: but the enemy were fearful, and they did not advance to the attack.

AND I tarried ten days in that peninſula; and I afterwards came forth from thence, and pitched my tents † on the border of the river. And I ſat down oppoſite to the army of Jitteh for the ſpace of one month; even till they were ſeized with fear, and returned back. And I croſſed the river, and came down in their camp, and ſent forces to purſue them.

THE TENTH DESIGN which I formed for the advancement of my power, was this.

WHEN I had broken the forces of Jitteh, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould go and ſubdue the country of Buddukhſhaun, and extend my dominions. And I marched from the border of the river, and encamped at the place called Khullum.

AND Ameer Hooſſein, the grandſon of Ameer Kurghun, whoſe ſiſter was in my houſe, came;

† Literally, temporary huts or cantonements.

وزمینی که در آن نزول نموده بودم جزیره بود واز سه طرف آب داشت چند خیمه که بیرون جزیره بودند بتاراج لشکر جته رفتند ومردم بیرون آمده داخل جزیره شدند

ومن استعداد جنک کرده آمده در کنار جزیره ایستادم چون چشم غنیم ترسیده بود وبجنک مبادرت ننمودند

ومن تا ده روز در آن جزیره اقامت نمودم وبعد از آن از جزیره بر آمده در کنار آب آلجوتها* زده تا مدت یکماه در برابر لشکر جته نشستم تا آنکه غنیم هراس یافته مراجعت کرد ومن از آب کذشته در منزل ایشان فرود آمدم وفوجی را بتعاقب ایشان فرستادم

کنکاش دهم که در استقامت سلطنت خود کردم این بود

که چون لشکر جته را شکست دادم صلاح کار خود درین دیدم که رفته ولایت بدخشان را مسخر سازم وامور سلطنت خودرا رواج دهم واز کنار آب کوچ کرده در موضع خلم نزول نمودم

وامیر حسین نبیره امیر قزغن که همشیره

THE NINTH DESIGN which I formed in establiſhing my regal power, was this. Book I.

WHEN I had obtained the victory over the leaders of the army of Jitteh, and the news of my advancing forth, and aſpiring to the throne, was made public throughout the land of Tooraun; I reſolved that I would become a king by generoſity and by liberality. And I ſaw the duration of my power in this, that I ſhould divide among my ſoldiers the treaſures which I had gathered together, both the money and the effects: and that I ſhould firſt ſubdue the caſtle of Kehulkeh.

AND when I had given ſubſiſtence to my army, I put them in order, and I arrived on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And I croſſed at the paſſage of Turmuz; and I ſent out my Kurrauvul * towards the caſtle of Kehulkeh; and I halted ſome days on the border of the waters of Jihoon, expecting intelligence from my Kurrauvul.

AND when Ouleaus Khaujeh heard where I was, he ſent Alchoun Bahaudur, the brother of Begchuck, with a mighty army upon me. And my Kurrauvulaun were negligent, and went to ſleep: and the enemy paſſed by them, and advanced night after night, and came upon me by ſurpriſe.

* Scouts, light troops.

کنکاش نهم که در قوام سلطنت
خود کردم این بود
که چون بر امراي لشکر جته ظفر یافتم وخبر خروج
من بدعوي سلطنت در توران زمین منتشر شد
عزیمت بستم که بداد ودهش فرمان فرما کردم
کنکاش استقامت سلطنت خودرا درین یافتم که خزانه
که فراهم آورده بودم از نقد وجنس بر سپاه قسمت
نمایم واول قلعه قهلقه را مسخر کردانم

چون لشکر خود را تغار داده تزوک
کردم وبکنار آب جیحون رسیدم واز کذر ترمذ
عبور کردم وقراولان بطرف قهلقه فرستادم ودر کنار
آب جیحون چند روز مقام نمودم ومنتظر خبر قراولان
مي بودم

چون خبر من بالیاس خواجه رسید
الچون بهادر برادر بیکچک را با افواج کران بر سر
من تعیین کرد وقراولان غافل شده بخواب رفته
بودند واز ایشان کذشته وشب بشب آمده بر سر من
شبخون آورد

وزمیني

of glory aſſaulted me and ſaid, Since thou haſt advanced forth with pretenſions to empire, even this is becoming the dignity and the rank of a king, that thou reſolve on war; and that thou be either victorious and triumphant, or be ſlain in battle.

AND when I had reſolved on this meaſure, I ſaw that the enemy were divided into three bodies; and that they were eager to engage. And I divided my forces into ſeven ſquadrons; and I determined that I would ſend down my ſeven ſquadrons upon them, one after the other. And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded the advanced guards to take to their bows, and to rain arrows upon the enemy.

AND I commanded the ſquadrons of the front lines of the left and the right wings to go into battle. And I myſelf advanced with the troops of the ſecond lines of the left and the right wings. And in the firſt and the ſecond charge I drove back the ſquadrons of Ameer Aboo Saeed, who was the chief leader of the army of Jitteh.

AND it came to paſs at this time, that Hydur Andookhodee and Munguli Booghau advanced to the fight. And I myſelf oppoſed them face to face; and in the firſt charge I defeated them alſo. And all the forces of Jitteh diſſolved away, and were ſcattered and diſperſed abroad.

THE

بلشکر من برسد دربن حال غیرت کریبان کیر من شد وکفت که چون بدعوي سلطنت خروج کرده، لایق شان ومرتبه سلطنت همین است که بر جنک عازم کردي یا مظفر ومنصور شوي یا کشته کردي

چون بربن عزیمت عازم شدم دیدم که غنیم سه فوج شده راه جنک مي طلبند ومن لشکر خودرا هفت فوج ساختم وکنکاش کردم که دفع بدفع افواج هفتکانه خودرا بر ایشان کشان دهم وچون نایره، قتال وجدال بلند شد امر نمودم که افواج هراول بخانه کهان در آمده تیر باران نمایند

وافواج شغاول وچپاول را * امر کردم بچپقولش * در آیند وخود با افواج جرانغار وبرانغار* بحرکت در آمدم ودر حمله اول ودوم فوج امیر ابو سعید که امیر الامراي لشکر جته بود برداشتم

دربن حال حیدر اندخودي ومنکلی بوغا بمبارزت پیش آمدند من خود بایشان رو برو شدم ودر حمله اول ایشانرا نیز متفرق ساختم وتمامي لشکر جته از هم فرو ریخته متفرق وپراکنده شدند

کنکاش

ſent unto me, arrived and ſaw me, and informed me of their approach, that they were coming to ſerve me with a thouſand horſemen. Book I.

AND I took their coming for a good omen: and they counſelled me, ſaying, "Thou muſt fall upon "the army of Jitteh by ſurpriſe in the night." And when I mounted my horſe, news was brought that the army of Jitteh was arrived and coming down upon me. And I put my forces in order, and I ſtood over againſt them; and the water was between their army and my army.

AND I ſaw it was good, that I ſhould amuſe the enemy with words and with perſuaſions, and extinguiſh the fire of their animoſity with the water of policy, and bring them over unto me.

AND I ſpoke to the leader of the army of Jitteh (who was Ameer Aboo Saeed), and that which I ſaid unto him, he took well. But the other leaders oppoſed him and reſolved on war. And the fire of my ſpirit alſo flaſhed forth, and I formed my forces in order of battle.

DESIGN VIII.

THE EIGHTH DESIGN which I formed (in defeating the army of Jitteh) was this.

I SAID unto myſelf, "If I fight with the "army of Jitteh, ſeeing they are very many, perhaps evil "may come unto my people." And at this time the ſpirit

of

من فرستاده بودند رسیده ملازمت نمود وخبر رسیدن ایشان را بعرض رسانید که با هزار سوار بملازمت میرسند

وآمدن ایشان را بر خود شکون* کرفتم

وبر من کنکاش کفتند که شب بر لشکر جته شبخون باید برد چون سوار شدم خبر رسید که لشکر جته رسیده می آید من افواج خودرا تزوک کرده در مقابل ایشان ایستاده شدم وآب درمیان لشکر ایشان ولشکر من حایل بود

وکنکاش دربین دیدم که مخالفان را بحرف وحکایت نکاهدارم وآتش سوزش ایشانرا به آب تدبیر فرو نشانم وایشان را بخود رام سازم

وبسردار لشکر جته که امیر ابو سعید بود سخن کردم وانچه بوي کفتم قبول کرد لیکن امراي دیکر مخالفت وي کرده بر جنک قرار دادند وآتش غیرت من هم شعله کشید وافواج خودرا تزک کردم

کنکاش هشتم که در شکست دادن لشکر جته کردم این بود

که با خود کفتم اکر با لشکر جته جنک کنم چون ایشان بسپارند مبادا چشم زخمي بلشکر

And even from this place I ſent Tummookeh Bahaudur with three horſemen, that having paſſed over the waters of Turmuz, he ſhould bring intelligence of the army of Jitteh, and inform himſelf of their counſels and deſigns.

And Tummookeh returned after four days, and brought intelligence, ſaying, "The army of Jitteh "is arrived in the land of Turmuz, and they are em-"ployed in rapine and in ſlaughter." When I received this intelligence, I turned the reins of my intention towards the ſtreights of Guz. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould go into the ſtreights of Guz, and ſojourn there: and ſeizing an opportunity, that I ſhould go down on the army of Jitteh.

And when I came into the ſtreights of Guz, I pitched my tents in the plain of Ilchee Booghau, on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And Ouleaus Khaujeh received news of me, that I was arrived in the ſtreights of Guz; and he ſent his forces upon me.

And in thoſe days intelligence came, that Ameer Soolamaun Burlaus and Ameer Jullaul u deen and Ameer Hindookeh (who were in the army of Jitteh) having turned their faces from the leaders of that tribe, and ſeparated from them with their forces, were arrived at old Turmuz: and Toulaun Booghau, whom they had

واز همین جا تموکه بهادررا با سه سوار فرستادم که از آب ترمذ گذشته خبر لشکر جته بیاورد واز اراده وکنکاش ایشان خودرا اکاه سازد

تموکه بعد چهار روز آمده خبر رسانید که لشکر جته بولایت ترمذ رسیده وبقتل وغارت مشغول اند چون این خبر بمن رسید عنان عزیمت بجانب دره گز معطوف داشتم وکنکاش درین دیدم که رفته در دره گز اقامت نمایم وقابو یافته بر سر لشکر جته ترکتاز آورم

وچون بدره گز در آمدم ودر میدان ایلچي بوغا کنار آب جیحون نزول نمودم خبر من بالیاس خواجه رسید که بدره گز رسیده ام وافواج خود را بر سر من تعیین نمود

ودرین وقت خبر رسید که امیر سلیمان برلاس وامیر موسي وامیر جاکو برلاس وامیر جلال الدین وامیر هندوکه برلاس که در لشکر جته بودند از امراي جته رو گردان شده وبا لشکر خود جدا کردیده بترمذ کهنه رسیده اند وتولان بوغارا که نزد

من

make it a place wherein to keep my baggage and my effects. And with this intention I ſet out toward the caſtle of Aulaujou. Book I.

AND Share Behraum had long acquaintance with the governor of that caſtle: and he ſpoke unto me, ſaying, "I will go and I will bring Munguli Booghau "over to our ſide."

AND when Share Behraum went near to the caſtle, he ſent word unto me, ſaying, Munguli Booghau ſayeth, "Since Ouleaus Khaujeh gave this caſtle "in charge unto me, it is far from manhood and from "fidelity that I ſhould come over to Ameer Timour, and "give up the caſtle:" and he refuſed to deliver it up.

BUT thus much came to paſs, that on receiving information of my approach, terror took poſſeſſion of his heart, and he left the caſtle, and he turned his face to flight. And three hundred men of the tribe of Doulaun Jauwun, who were with him in the caſtle, and who from old times were included in the train of my ſervants, came and united themſelves unto me.

AND I arrived at the defile of Souf, and in thoſe days Umlis, the ſon of Toumun Bahaudur, who had come down into the neighbourhood of Bullukh to plunder, received news of my coming; and he came with two hundred horſemen and joined me: and I received him kindly, and I encouraged him.

نکاه داشتن بار وپرتل خود کردانم وباین عزیمت
روانه قلعه الاجو شدم

وشیر بهرام با وي از قدیم اشناي
داشت والتماس کرد که من رفته منکلي بوغا را
ایل کردانم

وچون شیر بهرام بحولی قلعه رفت
مرا پیغام داد که منکلی بوغا اظهار میکند چون
این قلعه را الیاس خواجه بمن سپرده از مردي ومروت
دور است که من بامیر تیمور ایل شده قلعه را
بسپارم ودر دادن قلعه اهمال نمود

لیکن این قدر شد که از خبر توجه
من واهمه در دل وي جاي کرد وقلعه را کذاشته
رو بکریز نهاد وسه صد مرد از قوم دولان جاون که
در قلعه با وي بودند واز قدیم در سلک ملازمان من
انسلاک داشتند آمده بمن ملحق کشتند

وبموضع دره صوف رسیدم ودرین وقت
املس پسر تومن بهادر که بحوالی بلخ بجهته تاخت
آمده بود خبر رسیدن مرا شنید وبا دو صد سوار آمده
ملازمت نمود ومن ویرا تسلي داده مستمال ساختم
واز

I alſo came down from my horſe, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of Tughulluk Khaujeh; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Ameer Sife u deen, and I cloathed Toubuk Bahaudur in my coat. And they wept, and I wept alſo. And the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed together. And we mounted our horſes, and came and alighted at my dwelling: and I collected my people together and made a feaſt. Book I.

AND on the next day Share Behraum, who had ſeparated from me in the narrowneſs of his heart, and had reſolved to go into the land of Hind, arrived alſo. And he came into my preſence, and he made excuſes. And I took him into my arms, and I accepted his excuſes; and I treated him with ſuch kindneſs, that he came forth from his confuſion.

THE SEVENTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterpriſe, was this. DESIGN VII.

WHEN I ſaw the number of my forces, that they were in all three hundred and thirteen horſemen; I determined with myſelf that I would ſeize on one of the caſtles, and make to myſelf a reſidence. And thus I reſolved, that I would firſt reduce the caſtle of Aulaujou; (and Munguli Booghau Suldoze, on the part of Ouleaus Khaujeh, was in that caſtle,) and that I would make

بغل كرفتم ومنديل خودرا بر سر تغلق خواجه نهادم وكمربند خودرا كه بسيار پر كار وزر بافت بود بر كمر امير سيف الدين بستم وجامهٔ خودرا بر توبک بهادر پوشانيدم وايشان رقت كردند ومرا هم رقت شد ووقت نماز دررسيد وبجمعيت نمازرا ادا كرديم وسوار شده وآمده بيورت نزول نموديم ومجلس ساخته طوي دادم

وروز ديكر شير بهرام هم كه از روي خوردي از من جدا شده بود واراده زمين هندوستان در دل داشت رسيد ومرا ملازمت نمود وعذر خواست ومن ويرا در كنار كرفتم وعذرش را پذيرفتم وآن قدر مهرباني كردم كه از خجالت بر آمد

كنكاش هفتم كه در ايام خروج خود كردم اين بود

كه چون سان لشكر خود ديدم كه همكي سه صد وسيزده سوار بودند بخود كنكاش كردم كه يكي از قلاع را بدست آورده جاي بودن قرار دهم وچنين كنكاش كردم كه اول قلعه الاجورا كه از جانب الياس خواجه منكلي بوغا سلدوز در آن قلعه مي بود مسخر سازم وجاي نكاه

prescribed by the law, I lifted up my hands in supplication. Book I. And in the midst of my supplication I wept: and I implored Almighty God, that he would deliver me from that wandering life.

AND I had not yet rested from my devotions, when a number of people appeared afar off: and they were passing along in a line with the hill. And I mounted my horse, and I came in behind them: that I might know their condition, and what men they were. And they were in all seventy horsemen; and I asked of them, saying, "Warriors, who are ye?" And they answered unto me, "We are the servants of Ameer Timour, "and we wander in search of him; and lo! we find him "not." And I said unto them, I also am one of the servants of Ameer: how say ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him? And one of them put his horse to speed, and went and carried news to the leaders, saying, "We have found a guide, who can lead us to "Ameer Timour." And the leaders drew back the reins of their horses, and gave orders that I should appear before them. And they were three troops. And the leader of the first troop was Tughulluk Khaujeh Burlaus, and the leader of the second troop was Ameer Sife u deen, and the leader of the third troop was Toubuk Bahaudur. And when their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horses, and they came and they kneeled, and they kissed my stirrup. And

I also

اثنـــاي دعـا مرا رقتي دست داد واز تنكري تعالي درخواست كردم كه مرا از اين سركرداني نجات دهد

وهنوز از دعا فارغ نكشته بودم كه فوجي از دور نهودار شد كه از برابر بلندي ميكذرد ومن سوار شده از عقب آن فوج در آمدم تا احوال ايشانرا معلوم نمايم كه ايشان چه مردم اند وايشان همكي هفتاد سوار بودنـد از ايشان پرسيدم كه بهادران شما چه كسانيد ايشان كفتند ما نوكران امير تيموريم كه بطلب امير ميكرديم واينك ويرا نمي يابيم ومن بديشان كفتم كه مـن هم يكي از نوكران امير ام چونست كه شمارا راهبري كرده بامير برسانم ويكي از ايشان اسپ خودرا تاخته ورفته خبر بسرداران برد كه راهبري يافته ايم كه مارا به امير تيمور رساند وايشان عنان اسپان خودرا كشيدند وحكم باحضار من نمودند وايشان سه فوج بودند وسردار فوج اول تغلق خواجه برلاس بود وسردار فوج دويم امير سيف الدين بود وسردار فوج سيوم توبك بهادر بود وچون نظر ايشان بر من افتاد بيخود شده از اسپان خود پياده شدند وآمده زانو زدند وركاب مرا بوسيدند من هم از اسپ فرود آمدم وهركدام را در بغل

And in thoſe days we paſſed our time in hunting, and we proceeded forward. And on the way I beheld a body of men ſtanding on a hill; and their numbers increaſed from time to time: and I halted, and ſent people to obtain intelligence. And they went in among thoſe men, and brought back intelligence, ſaying, "It is "Kurraunchee Bahaudur, the old ſervant of Ameer,* who "with an hundred horſemen hath ſeparated from the ar- "mies of Jitteh, and is wandering in ſearch of thee." I bowed in gratitude to Almighty God, and I ſent orders for Kurraunchee to approach. And he came, and he kneeled before me; and he kiſſed my feet. And I received him with affection, and I placed my own turban on his head. And I went on to the valley of Arſuff. Book I.

And I came to the valley of Arſuff, and I pitched my tents. And on the next day I mounted my horſe, and entered into the valley. And in the midſt of that valley there was a hill; and the air thereof was very delightful. And I went and dwelt upon that hill; and my people, each of them, pitched their tents in the neighbourhood thereof.

And on that night, which was a holy night,† I kept watch; and when the morning broke, I was employed in prayer. And after repeating the prayers

* i.e. Timour.

† Friday, the Mahummudan ſabbath.

ودرین ایام بکوشت شکـار اوقـات مـی کذرانیدیـم وپیش مي رفتیم ودر اثناء راه دیدم که فوجي بر پشته ایستاده وساعت بساعت زیاده مي شدند واستاده قراولان فرستادم تـا خبر آورند وقراولان بآن جماعت رسیده خبر آوردند که قرانچي بهادر نوکر قدیم امیر است که با صد سوار از لشکر جته جدا شده وبطلب امیر سر کردان مي کردد من سجده شکر تنکري تعالي بجا آوردم وامر باحضار قرانچي کردم ووي آمده زانوزد ودر پاي مرا بوسه داد ومن ویرا تسلي نمودم ومندیـل خـودرا بر سر وي نهادم ومتوجه دره ارصف شدم

وبدره ارصـف رسیده نـزول نمودم وروز دیکر سوار شدم ودر آن دره در آمدم ودر میان دره بلندي بود بغایت خوش هوا ومن رفته برآن بلندي جـاي کرفتم ولشکریان هریک در حوالي آن پشته فرود آمدند

ومـن آن شـب کـه جمع بود زنده داشتم وچون صبح بدمید بنماز مشغول شدم وبعد از اداي نماز دست برداشته بـدعا مـشغـول شـدم ودر اثناي

Book I.

AND when I ſaw that the air and the water of that country ſuited not with me, I departed from thence, and I came back to Kurrumſeer; and I ſojourned in that land for two months, until my wounds were healed.

DESIGN VI.

THE SIXTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterpriſe, was this.

WHEN Kurrumſeer had ſubmitted to my authority, and my wounds were healed, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould go and ſojourn in the mountains on the borders of Bullukh; and having collected an army, that I ſhould proceed to ſubdue the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And when I reſolved on this meaſure, I departed from thence: and forty horſemen were all that were with me. But they were all reſolute men, and the ſons of reſolute men, and the ſons of Ameers. And I gave praiſe unto God, for that in ſuch diſtreſs ſuch men ſhould come, without purſe and without ſcrip, and follow me, and be obedient unto me. And I ſaid unto myſelf, God Almighty doeth great things for me; ſeeing he hath made ſuch men, even my equals, my ſervants.

AND I went on towards the mountains of Bullukh, and Suddeuk Burlaus (of the race of Yeldureen Kurrauchaur Nouyaun) who was wandering in ſearch of me, met me in the way with fifteen horſemen, and joined me; and I took his coming for a happy omen.

وچون آب وهواي آن ملک را بمزاج خود
موافق ندیدم برخاسته به کرمسیر آمدم ودر آن ولایت
دو ماه اقامت نمودم تا آنکه زخمهاي من به شد

کنکاش ششم که در وقت خروج خود
کردم این بود
که چون کرمسیر مسخر من کردید
وزخمهاي من به شد کنکاش دربن دیدم که رفته
در کوهستان سرحد بلخ اقامت نمایم وجمعیت کرده
بتسخیر ملک ماورالنهر متوجه شوم وچون برین کنکاش
عزیمت بستم سوار شدم وهمکی چهل سوار با من بودند
اما همه اصیل واصیل زاده وامیر زاده بودند وتنکري
تعالي را شکر کفتم که در چنین پریشاني همچنین
مردم بي زر وبي توشه آمده همراهي واطاعت مرا قبول
کرده اند وبا خود کفتم الله تعالی را بمن کار بسیار
است که این نوع مردم همسر مرا بمن مطیع ساخته

وبجانب کوهستان بلخ نهضت نمودم ودر
اثناي راه صدیق برلاس از اولاد یلدربن قراچار نویان
که بطلب من سر کردان مي کشت با پانزده سوار آمده
بمن ملحق شد ومن آمدن ویرا شکون* کرفتم

ودربن

thousand horsemen also, Toork and Taucheek, were gathered round me; and the country of Kurrumseer submitted to my authority. Book I.

And at this time I resolved that I would invade the province of Seistaun. And when the ruler of Seistaun received accounts thereof, he sent offerings and rich gifts unto me, and he demanded succour, saying, "Certain of my enemies have oppressed me, and they "have seized upon my lands, and upon seven castles.— "If the hands of my enemies be withdrawn from my "dominions, I will advance six months wages to the soldiers."

And I saw it was good that I should turn the reins of my intentions toward Seistaun. And of the seven castles which were in the hands of his enemies, I subdued five castles by force and by assault. — And fear found admission into the heart of the ruler of Seïstaun, and he made his enemies his friends; and they said among themselves, "If Ameer Timour tarry in this country, the province of Seistaun will pass out from our hands." And they gathered together the soldiers and the people of all the country of Seistaun, and they came upon me.

And when I saw that the ruler of Seistaun fulfilled not his engagement, I was without remedy; and I advanced toward them, and gave them battle. And an arrow came and pierced my arm, and another arrow also came upon my foot, but in the end I obtained the victory over them.

And

رجوع آوردند و تریب بهزار سوار از ترک وتاچک نیز بر من جمع شد وولایت کرمسیر مسخر من کشت

ودر این وقت کنکاش کردم که بر ولایت سیستان ترکتاز آورم وچون خبر بوالی سیستان رسید ارمغان وساوري* فرستاد وطلب مدد کرد که جمعي از دشمنان بر من ظلم کرده وملک مرا با هفت قلعه متصرف شده اند اکر دست دشمنان از ملک من کوتاه شود شش ماهیه علوفه سپاه را برسانم

وکنکاش درین دیدم که عنان عزیمت بجانب سیستان معطوف دارم واز هفت قلعه که دشمنان وي متصرف شده بودند پنج قلعه را جبرا وقهرا کرفتم در دل والي سیستان هراس راه یافت ودشمنان خودرا با خود دوست کرد وبا خود کنکاش کردند که اکر امیر تیمور درین ملک اقامت کند ملک سیستان از دست ما بدر خواهد رفت وسپاه ورعیت تمامي مملکت سیستان حشر کردند وبر سر من آمدند

وچون دیدم که والي سیستان بعهد خود وفا ننمود ناچار شدم وسر راه بر ایشان کرفته قتال وجدال نمودم وتیري آمد وبر بازوي من خورد ونیز یک تیر دیکر بر پاي من رسید آخر بر ایشان ظفر یافتم

وچون

me. And on the road I took horſes from among the droves of the Toorkummaun; * and I mounted my foot-ſoldiers thereon. Book I.

AND I came and I encamped at Atcheghi in the hilly grounds on the banks of the waters of Amuveah: in this place my family, and Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hooſſun, and all thoſe whom I had left in the environs of Bokhaura, came and joined themſelves unto me. And Timour Khaujeh Aghlaun and Behraum Jullauir, with their forces, came and ſerved me; and near a thouſand horſemen were gathered round me. And I deliberated with myſelf, and I ſet out from thence towards Baukhtur Zemeen and Kundahaur, and I ſubdued thoſe countries.

THE FIFTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterpriſe, was this. DESIGN V.

WHEN I departed towards Kundahaur and Baukhtur Zemeen, I came to the border of the river of Hiremun, and I ſojourned there, and I made for myſelf an habitation; and I tarried ſome days on the border of that river to refreſh my people.

AND at this time the ſoldiers and the inhabitants of Kurrumſeer came in unto me; and near a

Kuſh. Vide Timour's full account of this tranſaction in the Fragment of his Hiſtory. pag. 355. l. 5. MS. HUNTER.

thouſand

کردند ودر اثناي راه چند اسپ از کله ترکمانان بدست آوردم وپیادکان خودرا سوار ساختم

وآمده در موضع اچیغي در کنار آب آمویه در زمین پست وبلند نزول نمودم ودر همین جاي اهل حرم ومبارک شاه وسید حسن وجماعه را که در حوالي بخارا کذاشته بودم آمده بمن ملحق شدند وتیمور خواجه اغلان وبهرام جلایر با افواج خود آمده ملازمت نمودند وقریب هزار سوار نزد من جمع آمدند واز اینجا خود با خود کنکاش کرده روانه باختر زمین وقندهار شدم وآن ملک را مسخر کردانیدم

کنکاش پنجم که در ایام خروج خود کردم این بود

که چون بجانب باختر زمین وقندهار روان شدم بکنار آب هیرمن رسیدم ونزول نمودم وبورتي بجهته خود ساختم وچند روز بتیمارداري سپاه در کنار آن آب توقف نمودم

ودر این وقت سپاه ورعیت ولایت کرمسیر

* It may be proper to obſerve, for the credit of Timour, that before he took thoſe horſes, he enquired out the owners and ſent for them, and gave them a written order for their value. This happened in the principality of Kuſh.

رجوع

THEY all approved of my counſel and my design; and having repeated the prayer of ſucceſs on our attempt, I proceeded forward. And I diſperſed thoſe two hundred people in the environs of Bokhaura, and I ſecreted Aljaié Turkaun Aughau, the ſiſter of Ameer Hooſſein, in that place; and I advanced toward Summurkund. Book I.

AND Tumookeh Kouchein met me on the way with fifteen horſemen, and joined me. And I communicated my ſecret unto him, and ſent him to Mubauruk Shaah. And entering myſelf among the tribes, I confederated with me near two thouſand of the people: and whenever I exalted the ſtandard of empire in Summurkund, they were to join me.

And I entered the city of Summurkund under the cover of the night; and going to the dwelling of my eldeſt ſiſter Kuttulugh Turkaun Aughau, I ſojourned therein. And I was buried in thought and reflection night and day. And I paſſed forty eight days undiſcovered; until at length certain of the inhabitants gave information of my arrival, and my ſituation was near to be revealed. I was without remedy; and with fifty horſemen, who were with me in the city, I came forth from Summurkund by night, and I proceeded toward Khauruzm: and certain of the foot-ſoldiers alſo came with

ایشان همکي این کنکاش وتدبیر مرا پسندیدند ودرین عزیمت فاتح خوانده روان شدم واین دو صد کس را در حوالي بخارا متفرق ساختم والجاي ترکان آغا همشیره امیر حسین را پنهاني در آن موضع کذاشتم ومتوجه سمرقند شدم

وتموکه قوچین با پانزده سوار آمده در راه بمن ملحق شد وراز خودرا بوي کفته ویرا نزد مبارک شاه فرستادم وخود میان الوسات در آمده قریب دو هزار کس را با خود متفق ساختم که هرکاه در سمرقند علم سلطنت برافرازم ایشان خودرا برسانند

وشب پنهانی داخل شهر سمرقند شدم وبخانه قتلغ ترکان اغاي خواهر کلان خود رفته نزول نمودم وشب وروز در فکر وتدبیر بودم وچهل وهشت روز پنهاني کذرانیدم تا آنکه بعضي از اهالي شهر بر آمدن من اطلاع نمودند ونزدیک بود که سر من فاش شود ناچار با پنجاه سوار که در شهر با من بودند شب از سمرقند بر آمده بطرف خوارزم متوجه شدم وجمعي از پیادکان هم با من رفاقت کردند

And I ſaw that my ſafety conſiſted in this — that I ſhould come forth from that place, and that I ſhould ſojourn in the deſart, far from the habitations of men; until an army, which is the ſinews of Empire, ſhould be gathered around me.

And I journeyed from that place toward Khorauſaun; and Mubauruk Shaah Sunjuri, the governor of Maukhaun, came to me on the way with an hundred ſoldiers, and preſented ſome choſen horſes to me: and certain of the deſcendants of the prophet and of the inhabitants alſo came in unto me; and near two hundred men, horſe-men and foot-men, joined me in the deſart.

And at this time Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hooſun, and Siud Zeau u deen ſaid unto me, "Our tarrying in this deſart is the cauſe of our diſtreſs; "we muſt go from hence, and we muſt ſeize on ſome "Province for an habitation." And I deliberated with myſelf, and I ſaid unto them, "This meaſure occurreth "to my mind — that we advance towards Summurkund, "and that I diſperſe you in the ſecure places of Bokh-"aura; and that I myſelf go into the parts adjacent to "Summurkund, and enter among the people and the "tribes, and unite them with me: and having collected "an army, and called you unto me, that I encounter "Ouleaus Khaujeh and the forces of Jitteh, and ſubdue "the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur."

تطاول بر من دراز کنند وخبر مرا در اوزبکان فرستند وصلاح حال خود در اين ديدم که از آن موضع بر آيم ودر صحراي که از معموره دور باشد نزول نمايم تا آنکه لشکر که بازوي سلطنت است نزد من جمع آيد

واز آن موضع بجانب خراسان متوجه شدم ودر راه مبارک شاه سنجري حاکم ماخان با يکصد سوار نزد من آمد واسپان خوب پيشکش کرد وجمعي از سادات واهالي نيز بمن ملحق کشتند وقريب دو صد نفر سوار وپياده در آن صحرا با من همراه کشت

ودرينوقت مبارک شاه وسيد حسن وسيد ضياء الدين بمن عرض کردند که توقف نمودن درين صحرا باعث پريشاني است بطرفي بايد رفت وولايتي جهت بودن مسخر بايد ساخت ومن خود بخود کنکاش کردم وبا ايشان کفتم که بخاطرم اين کنکاش رسيده که متوجه طرف سمرقند شويم وشهايانرا در موضع مضافات بخارا متفرق سازم وخود بحوالي سمرقند رفته وبميان اهل والوسات در آمده ايشانرا بخود متفق سازم ولشکري جمع ساخته وشهايانرا طلب داشته با لشکر جته والياس خواجه درافتم ومملکت ماورالنهر را مسخر سازم

ايشان

Book I.

AND I ſet out toward the deſart of Khauruzm, and twelve horſemen united themſelves unto me. And after two days I came to an inhabited place, and I alighted at one of the dwellings thereof. And certain of the Toorkummauns, who were in that place, gave a loud ſhout,* and ruſhed upon me. And I ſecured the ſiſter of Ameer Hooſſein in the houſe, and I aſſaulted thoſe people in my own perſon. And at this time a man among the Toorkummauns, whoſe name was Haujee Mahummud, knew me again; and he exclaimed aloud, "It is Ameer "Timour." And he ordered the people to deſiſt, and he kneeled before me. And I received him kindly, and I placed my turban on his head; and he came with his brethren, and was my ſervant.

DESIGN IV.

THE FOURTH DESIGN which I formed in the early days of my power, was this.

WHEN ſixty horſemen were gathered round me, I reflected with myſelf, that if I continued in the place where I then ſojourned, perhaps the inhabitants thereof might extend the hand of treachery over me, and ſend news of my condition to the tribe of Jitteh.

in this work, are not to be found in any Lexicon, and are conſequently unknown. Where the probable ſenſe is diſcoverable from the context, as in the preſent caſe, an interpretation is given in the tranſlation; and whereever the meaning is beyond the reach of conjecture, the Mogul word is retained in the verſion; its origin in both caſes being marked for the benefit of the Perſian ſcholar. See note on pag. 34.

And

وبجانب بیابان خوارزم روان شدم
ودوازده سوار بر سر من جمع آمدند وبعد از دو روز بموضعي رسیدم ودر خانه نزول نمودم وجمعي از ترکمانان که در آن موضع می بودند اغري * کفته بر من حمله آوردند ومن همشیره امیر حسین را در خانه مضبوط ساختم وبذات خود بر آن جماعه حمله کردم ودر این وقت شخصی حاجي محمد نام که در میان ترکمانان بود مرا بشناخت وفریاد بر آورد که امیر تیمور است ومردم را از جنک منع کرده زانوزد ومن ویرا تسلي کردم ومندیل خود را بر سر وي نهادم ووي آمده با برادران خود ملازم من شد

کنکاش چهارم که در اوایل سلطنت خود کردم این بود

که چون شثت سوار نزد من جمع آمدند بخود کنکاش کردم که اکر در موضعي که رسیده بودم اقامت نمایم مبادا اهل آن موضع دست

* The word thus tranflated is in the original *Aghuri*, and evidently of Mogul origin. The Mogul language is, in this work and in moft other oriental authors, called *Toori Zubaun* and *Zubaun a Toorki*, or the language of the Toorks. But notwithftanding the language, known in Europe by the name of Turkifh, muft have been derived from the fame origin, this and feveral other Mogul words retained by the Perfian tranflator in

تطاول

wandered to and fro in the desart of Khauruzm, until on a certain night I alighted at a well. And even in that night the three faithless Khorausauni * seized on three horses, and mounted them and fled: and four horses only remained for seven people, and my distresses were very great: but I was strong of heart, and I lamented not over my misfortunes.



AND I departed from the well; and at this time Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni came upon me, and he carried me away, and confined me in a habitation filled with vermin, and placed a guard over me, and kept me imprisoned for sixty and two days.

AND I deliberated with myself, and aided by the assistance of Almighty God, with the strength of the arm of vigour I wrested a sword from my guards and I rushed upon them: and the guards turned their faces to flight, and I went and stood before Aali Beg. And he was ashamed and confounded at his evil conduct, that he had thrown me into prison; and he made excuses.

AND he ordered my horses and my arms to be brought forth; and he gave me a horse that was lean, and a camel that was past service as a present. But he thirsted after the gifts which his brother Mahummud Beg had sent unto me, and he kept back a part thereof; and he suffered me to depart.

* Natives of Khorausaun.

من بود ویرا با خود بر اسپ خود سوار ساخته بودم ودر صحراي خوارزم سر کردان می کشتم تا آنکه شبي بسر چاهي فرود آمدم وهمان شب آن سه نفر خراسانی بیوفا سه اسپ را کرفته وسوار شده کریختند ودر میان هفت کس چهار اسپ ماند واحوال من بسیار مختل شد لیکن قوي دل بودم وافشاي خطا نکردم

واز سر آن چاه روان شدم ودر این وقت علـی بیک چون غرباني بر سر من آمد ومرا برده در خانه پر از کیک محبوس ساخت ونکاهبانان بر من تعیین نمود وششت ودو روز مرا در قید نکاهداشت
وخود بخود کنکاش کردم وبتایید آلهي موید شده بقوت بازوي جلادت شمشیري از نکاهبانان کشیده بر ایشان حمله آوردم ونکاهبانان روي بکریز نهادند ومن پیش علي بیک رفته ایستادم ووی از عمل نا شایسته خود که مرا مقید ساخته بود شرمنده ومنفعل شد وعذر خواست

واسپان ویراق مرا حاضر آورد ویک اسپ لاغر ویک اشتر نا توان آورده بمن پیشکش نمود وارمغان که برادرش محمد بیک بمن فرستاده بود در آن طمع نمود وپاره نکاهداشت ومرا رخصت نمود

وبجانب

unto Tukkul Bahaudur the governor of Khiook, that he ſhould fall upon me and deſtroy me. And Tukkul Bahaudur came upon me with a thouſand horſemen: and I oppoſed him with my ſixty warriors, and with Ameer Hooſſein who had come and joined me in the way; and I entered into battle. And I fought with ſuch obſtinacy and reſolution, that of the one thouſand horſemen of Tukkul Bahaudur fifty remained, and of my ſixty warriors ten remained; and the victory in effect was mine. Book I.

AND when the news of my ſucceſs reached the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh and the Ameers of Jitteh, they ſaid among themſelves, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the Divine favour are with him." And I called this victory a favour from heaven conferred upon me: and the eyes of the tribe of Jitteh were darkened by my ſucceſs.

THE THIRD DESIGN which I formed for the reſtoration of my power, was this. DESIGN III.

AT the time when the ſtate of my fortune was reduced low, and when the foundation of my power was broken aſunder, ſo that my aſſociates were ten only (and ſeven of them were on horſes, and three of them were foot-men) and none other remained with me; in thoſe days the ſiſter of Ameer Hooſſein, who was my honoured wife, I placed behind me on my horſe, and I

خوارزم باليـاس خواجه رسيد به تكل بهادر حاكم
خيـوق نوشت كه بر سر من آمده مرا ضايع سازد
وتكل بهادر بـا هزار سوار بـر سـر من آمد ومن با
شصت سوار خود وبا امير حسين كه در راه آمده بمن
ملحق شده بـود رو بـرو شدم وبجنگ در آمدم وتا
بحدي جنگ وكوشش نمودم كه از هزار كس وي
پنجاه كس ماند واز شصت سوار من ده كس ماند
تا آنكه در معنى فتح از جانب من شد

وچـون خـبـر فتح مـن بمسامع الياس
خواجه وامرا جته رسيد باهم گفتند كه تيمور عجب
مردي وصاحب اقبال وتاييدات است واين فتح را بـر
خود شگون * گرفتم وچشم اوزبكان از من تيره شد

كنكاش سيوم كه در اصـلاح سلطنت
خود كردم اين بود

كه در آن وقت كه احوال دولت من
مختل شد واساس سلطنت من از هم گسيخته شد
چنانچه زياده از ده كـس همراه من نبود كه هفت
كس سـوار بودند وسه پياده وجز آنها كسي ديگر
با مـن نماند وهمشيره امير حسين كه حرم محترم

* An afterisk placed after a word (in the Perfian text) fignifies that it is of Mogul origin.

من

hur might ſhrink back from their engagements: therefore I reſolved to come forth from Summurkund, and to fix my habitation in the hills, that every one who was united with me might come in unto me; and that having gathered together an army, I might advance and make war upon the Ouzbuks.

AND when I came forth from Summurkund, ſixty warriors only came forth with me; and I ſaw that I had not erred in my deliberations.

AND when I had remained ſeven days in thoſe hills, and no one had come in unto me, I determined with myſelf that I would proceed to Buddukhſhaun, and draw unto my ſtandard the princes thereof.

AND I ſet out, and I went into the preſence of Ameer Goolaul.* And he directed me that I ſhould turn the reins of my intention towards Khauruzm. And I promiſed unto him the revenue of Summurkund for one year—that I would lay it before him, if I proved victorious over the Ouzbuks. And he repeated over me the prayer of victory, and permitted me to depart.

AND when I came forth from the preſence of Ameer Goolaul, ſixty horſemen were all that were with me. And when the news of my arrival in Khauruzm reached the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh, he wrote

* A religious man, celebrated for his piety.

نمایم مبادا اهل ماوراالنهر کوتاهي کنند پس چنین کنکاش دیدم که از سمرقند برآمده در کوه مقام کنم تا هر کس که بمن متفق باشد نزد من آید انگاه جمعیت کرده بقتال وجدال اوزبکان مبادرت نمایم

چون از سمرقند بر آمدم زیاده از ششت سوار دیگر کسي با من بر نیامد ودانستم که در کنکاش خود غلط نکرده ام

وچون یکهفته در آن کوه توقف نمودم وکسي بمن در نیامد خود بخود کنکاش کردم که بجانب بدخشان رفته شاهان بدخشان را بخود متفق سازم

وسوار شدم وبخدمت امیر کلال رفتم ایشان مرا ارشاد نمودند که بجانب خوارزم عنان عزیمت معطوف دارم ومن مال یکساله سمرقند را نذر ایشان کردم که اگر بر اوزبکان ظفر یابم با ایشان بگذرانم وایشان فاتحه فتح خوانده مرا رخصت دادند

وچون از خدمت ایشان بر آمدم همگي ششت سوار با من بود   وچون خبر نهضت من در خوارزم

" ample of the orthodox Khulleefehs, † (on whom be " the favour of Almighty God) the followers of Islaum, " the doctors, and the holy men, and the soldiers, and the " subjects, seeing Him noble and worthy thereof, HAVE " NOMINATED AMEER TIMOUR (the Polar star of do- " minion, on whom be the favour of God) to the em- " pire: and with their wealth, and with their lives they " will exert themselves in expelling and in driving out, " and in extirpating and in destroying the tribe of Ouzbuk, " who have stretched forth the hand of cruelty and ra- " pine over the families and over the wealth, and over " the property and over the effects of the faithful."

" AND we will be firm in our engagements; " and if we deviate from our agreement and from our " compact, may we be deprived of the grace and of " the protection of Almighty God; and be delivered " over to the power and the dominion of the devil!""

AND when they shewed unto me the decree, I was eager to exalt the standard of war and of slaughter, and to draw down an army on the people of Jitteh, and to revenge the oppressed on the heads of the oppressors: but certain of the worthless revealed my intentions.

AGAIN, I deliberated with myself, that if I made war upon them in the city of Summurkund, it might come to pass that the people of Mauwur u Nu-

† The Caliphs Abaubukkur, Omur, Osmaun and Aali.

که مطابق سیرت وصورت خلفاي راشدین رضوان الله تعالـي علیهم واجمعین اهل اسلام سپاه ورعیت وعلما ومشایخ وبرا کرام دیده ملقب بر سلطنت قطب السلطنه امیر تیموررا ایده الله نموده اند که بمال وجان در رفع ودفع وقلع وقمع طایفه اوزبکیه که دست ظلم وتعدي به عرض وناموس ومال واسباب مسلمانان دراز کرده اند کوشش نمایند

وما در عـهـد وبیعت خـود درسـت پیمان باشیم واکر خلاف پیمان وعـهـد نمایـم از حول وقوت آلهي برآمده داخل حول وقوت شیطان بـاشـیـم

وچون فـتـوي را بمن نمودار ساختند خـواسـتـم کـه علم قتال وجدال بر افرازم وبر سر اوزبـکـان لشکر بکشم وداد مظلومـون از ظالمان بـکـیـرم لیکن بعضي مردم اراذل این راز را فاش کـردنـد

ودیکر باره خود بخود کنکاش کردم که اکر در سمرقند بمقابله ومقاتله اوزبکان اشتغال نمایم

AND I reflected upon my danger: and to remedy the evil, this was the design which I formed—that I should gather round me the valiant youth of the tribe of Burlaus, and attach them unto me. And the first man who gave unto me the hand of obedience, was Eekou Timour; and the second was Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus: and after him other warriors, from their hearts and from their souls, consented to receive my commands.

WHEN the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur obtained knowledge of my purpose, that I had resolved to rise in opposition to the tribe of Ouzbuk; as their hearts were turned aside from that oppressive people, both the rich and the poor of the people of Mauwur u Nuhur united themselves unto me. And the religious, and the holy men issued forth a decree, authorizing the expulsion and the extirpation of the Ouzbuks. And in this undertaking certain of the Ameers of Alousaut and and of Kushoonaut joined also. *

AND the decree and the engagement to which they had agreed, and which they caused to be written, is this. "According to the conduct and the ex-

Europeans. The *Kushoonaut* (which is the plural of *Kushoon*) may here mean *bodies of military men drawn from tribes or hords*, as the word *Toumaun* sometimes signifies. The number of the *Toumaun* is known to be ten thousand; that of the *Kushoon* may perhaps be somewhat less: but it can hardly signify so insignificant a number as a hundred men. Several particulars in this work tend to confirm this opinion.

" example

وکشته شدن خود را معاینه کردم ودر
علاج آن چنین تدبیر کردم که جوانان بهادر
الوس برلاس را بر سر خود جمع آورم وایشان را بخود
متفق سازم واول کسي که دست متابعت بمن داد
ایکو تیمور بود ودویم امیر جاکو برلاس ودیکر
بهادران از جان ودل اختیار متابعت من نمودند

چون اهالي ماورالنهر از داعیه من آکاه
شدند که اراده کرده ام که بر اوزبکان خروج
نمایم چون دلهاي ایشان از طایفه ظالم اوزبکان
منحرف شده بود اکابر واصاغر اهالي ماورالنهر
بمن متفق شدند وعلما ومشایخ فتوي بدفع ورفع
طایفه اوزبکیه نوشتند وبعضي امرا الوسات وقشونات
نیز برین معني اتفاق نمودند

وصورت فتوي وعهدي که کرده
بودند وبر کاغذي ثبت نمودند اینست

* *Alous*, of which *Alousaut* is the plural, signifies *a tribe*, or *hord*. A true explanation of the Tartar word *Kushoon* has not been met with. Mr. Petis de la Croix calls it a *body of a hundred soldiers*: but this interpretation is undoubtedly erroneous. The words *Kubbeeleh*, *Taueefeh*, *Ouemauk*, *Alous* and *Kushoon*, (some of which are Arabic) all appear to signify *a tribe* or *hord*; but there must be some distinction between them unknown to Europeans.

که

AND when the cruelties and the oppreſſions of the Ouzbuks became great in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, (for behold they had carried into ſlavery ſeventy Siuds, and ſons of Siuds) and the power of Ouleaus Khaujeh availed him nought, and he was no longer able to reſtrain their cruelties and oppreſſions; in the ſpirit of authority I ruſhed upon the Ouzbuks, and I delivered the oppreſſed from the hand of the oppreſſors. And this circumſtance was the cauſe of diſobedience in the Ameers of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and in the ſoldiers under them. Book I.

AND they wrote unto Tughulluk Timour Khaun, ſaying, "Timour hath exalted the ſtandard of "rebellion." And the Khaun thought that the accuſation was true: and he iſſued an order to put me to death: and that order fell into my hands.

"forth, that the dignity of Khaun ſhould appertain to the poſterity of "Kubbul Khaun, and that the poſt of miniſter and general ſhould belong "to the poſterity of Kaujooli Bahaudur, and that they ſhould live in amity "with each other: I alſo to fulfil the engagement of my anceſtors, refrained from enmity, and conſented to lead his armies."

*This note is formed from authorities found in Abulghazi Khan's genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars, in D'Herbelot, and in the Fragment of the hiſtory of Timour, p. 153. l. 9.——And the paſſages illuſtrated here and in the notes on page 23. will to the oriental ſcholar ſerve to refute the falſehoods of the Arabian author Ibn Arabſhaah, and to prove the ſuperior accuracy and authenticity of the* life of Timour written by himſelf *over that compoſed by* Alli Yezzudi; *who has hitherto been conſidered by the learned of Europe as the moſt perfect and faithful narrator of the actions of Timour.*

وچون ظلم وتعدي اوزبكيه در ماورالنهر
بسيار شد چنانچه هفتاد سيد وسيدزاده را اسير
ساخته بودند والياس خواجه از سلطنت بهره نداشت
ودر منع ظلم وتعدي ايشان عاجز بود من از روي
سطوت بر اوزبكان غلبه كردم ومظلومان را از دست
ظالمان خلاص ساختم واين معني سبب عناد امراي
الياس خواجه واوزبكان شد

وبه تغلقتيمور خان نوشتند كه تيمور
علم مخالفت بر افراخته است وخان اين افترا را
راست دانسته يرليغ بكشتن من صادر كرد وآن
يرليغ بدست من افتاد

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ومخالفت يكديكر نكنند مطالع كردم بنابر وفاي
عهد مخالفت نه نمودم وسپه‌سالاري را قبول كردم

i. e. "In the beginning of the year of the Hejra 762 [A. D. 1360] when "Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army a ſecond time into Mauwur u "Nuhur, he ſent unto me a mandate, ordering me before him; and I "went to meet him, and I ſaw him. And he broke his engagements, and "delivered over Mauwur u Nuhur to his ſon Ouleaus Khaujeh, and ap- "pointed me the leader of his forces. And when he ſaw that I was diſſa- "tisfied with his proceedings, he ſhewed unto me the agreement between "my anceſtor Kaujooli Bahaudur and Kubbul Khaun. And when I read "that agreement (which they had engraved on a tablet of ſteel) ſetting "forth,

وكشته

Book I. Design II. A.D. 1370. A. Tim. 26.

The second design which I formed in the beginning of my fortune and power, was this.

When Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army on the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur a ſecond time, and broke his engagements, and took from me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, and delivered it over to Ouleaus Khaujeh his ſon, and offered me the poſt of counſellor and general to that prince, and ſhewed unto me the agreement between Kaujooli Bahaudur, and Kubbul Khaun; * I alſo, on account of the engagements and agreements of my anceſtors, conſented to lead his armies.

Khaun, to Timour, deſcended in a right line from Kaujooli Bahaudur: who, on peruſing the above-mentioned agreement, conſidered himſelf bound to accept the appointment offered him by Tughulluk Timour. Thus Timour, in *Fragm. of Hiſt.* p. 128. l. 3. MS. Hunter, ſays,

در شهور سنه هفصد وششت ودو که تغلقتیمور خان
مرتبه دویم به ماوراالنهر لشکر کشید نامه در باب
طلب بمن فرستاد ومن هم استقبال کرده ویرا دیدم
ووي نقض عهد کرده ماوراالنهر به پسر خود الیاس
خواجه داد ومرا سپهسالار ساخت وچون مرا تیره
یافت عهد نامه قاجولي بهادر جد من وقبل خان را
ظاهر ساخت چون من آن عهد نامه را که بر صفحه
فولاد نقش کرده بودند که خاني بر اولاد قبل
خان متعلق باشد وسپه سالاري به اولاد قاجولي بهادر
ومخالفت

كنكاش دويم كه در عنوان سلطنت
خود كردم اين بود

كه چون تغلقتيمور خان مرتبه ديكر بر
مملكت ماورالنهر لشكر كشيد ونقض عهد كرد
وحكومت ماورالنهررا از من كرفت وباالياس خواجه
پسر خود سپورد ومرا سپه سالار ومشير وي ساخت
وعهد نامه قاجولي بهادر وقبل خانرا ظاهر ساخت
من هم بنابر قول وعهد بزركان سپه سالاري را
قبول كردم

* Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur were twin brothers, and the ſons of Toumuneh Khaun. Kubbul Khaun was the great grandfather of Chungaze Khaun [Ghenghis Can], and Kaujooli Bahaudur was the eighth anceſtor of Timour, and the great grandfather of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, mentioned before.

Thus it appears, that Chungaze Khaun and Timour both ſprang from the ſame ſtock, i.e. from Toumuneh Khaun; who was the fourth anceſtor of Chungaze Khaun, and the ninth anceſtor of Timour. Toumuneh Khaun was ſucceeded by his ſon Kubbul Khaun, and Kubbul Khaun was ſucceeded by Burtun Khaun in the ſovereignty of the Moguls.

And it appears that an agreement had taken place between Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur (at the deſire perhaps of their father Toumuneh Khaun) that the former (who was the elder brother) and his poſterity ſhould ſucceed to the dignity of Khaun, and that the latter (who was the younger brother) and his poſterity ſhould always fill the poſt of chief miniſter and leader of the forces; and that the deſcendants of both ſhould, by this agreement between their fathers, be bound to live in conſtant friendſhip and amity with each other. And this is the agreement ſhewn by Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who was deſcended in a right line from Chungaze and Kubbul Khaun,

Khaujeh, who was the Deewaunbeghee,* and the chief counfellor of the Khaun, and they drew him alfo over to their fide: and they proceeded on their way to Jitteh. Book I.

AND at this time alfo news arrived that the Ameers of Tughulluk Timour had exalted the ftandard of rebellion in the Dufht of Kipchauk: and the Khaun was difturbed in heart, and he afked counfel of me; and he turned back his face to the Dufht of Jitteh.

AND he gave unto me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur,† and in this matter he wrote a commiffion and an agreement; and he reftored unto me the Toumaun‡ of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun in that kingdom: and I became the ruler of all the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, even to the waters of Jihoon.§ And this action came to pafs in the beginning of my fortune and power. And I found by experience that one fkilful plan can perform the fervice of a hundred thoufand warriors.

and the Vizzeer of Chughtaï Khaun, one of the fons of Chungaze Khaun. (Ghenghis Can.)

§ Thus it appears that Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who had advanced no farther than Khojjund on the river Sihoon, and was unable to profecute the reduction of Mauwur u Nuhur on account of the diffenfions which Timour had fown betwixt him and the chiefs of his army, and alfo on account of the rebellion of his Ameers in the Dufht of Kipchauk, took advantage of the fubmiffion of Timour to obtain a nominal dominion over Mauwur u Nuhur, by conferring upon him the title of Viceroy in that kingdom.

THE

وامیر کنکاج خان بود برخوردند واورا هم از خود کرده بجانب جته روان شدند

وهمدرین وقت خبر رسید که امرای تغلقتیمور خان در دشت قبچاق علم مخالفت بر افراشته اند خان مضطرب شد واز من کنکاش خواسته روی بطرف دشت جته باز نهاد

وماورالنهر را بمن کذاشت ودرین باب یرلیغ وعهد نوشت وتومان امیر قراچار نویان را از ماورالنهر بمن باز کذاشت ومن بر ولایت ماورالنهر تا کنار آب جیحون فرمان فرما کشتم واین کنکاش در ابتدای دولت وسلطنت من بود وبتجربه من رسید که یک تدبیر درست کار صد هزار سوار میکند

* The president of his council.

† This circumstance is erroneously related in Aali Yezzudi; who says that the Toumaun of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun only was conferred upon him, and that not by Tughulluk Timour Khaun himself, but by the *Leaders of his advanced guard.* Vide Petis de la Croix's Histoire de Timour Bek. Tom. 1. p. 30.

‡ A Toumaun is a military fief capable of sending forth ten thousand fighting men: it also signifies that number of men collected together.

Nooyaun, in the Mogul language signifies *a prince*, or *the descendant of a prince.* Kurrauchaur Nooyaun was the fifth ancestor of Timour, and

AND when I came unto thoſe Ameers, my power * made an impreſſion upon them, and they received me with honour and reſpect. And behold their hearts, like unto their eyes, were blind and contracted, and the preſents which I gave unto them, ſeemed great in their ſight: and they withdrew their hands from ravaging and deſtroying the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I went, and ſaw Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he took my coming for a happy omen: and he aſked counſel of me, and all that which he heard me ſay, he approved.

AND at this time news came to the ears of Tughulluk Timour Khaun that the Ameers of the three armies had taken monies and gifts from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur: and he inſtantly commanded thoſe ſums to be delivered up, and he appointed collectors thereof. And he forbad them to enter into Mauwur u Nuhur; and he turned them out from their commands; and he appointed Haujee Muhmood Shaah Yeſſoori to ſupply their place.

AND when intelligence of theſe things reached the ears of the chiefs, they elevated the enſign of enmity, and they retired towards their homes. And at this time they were met on their way by Aghlaun

* Having taken all his own tribe, and all the principal people of Mauwur u Nuhur along with him. Vide Fragm. Hiſt. p. 327 et 328. MS HUNTER.

Khaujeh

و چون امراي مذكورا ديدم سطوت
من در ايشان اثر كرد واز راه تعظيم وتكريم پيش
آمدند وچون دلهاي ايشان مانند چشمهاي تنک
بود وساوري كه بديشان دادم در نظر ايشان بسيار
نمود ودست از تاخت وتاراج ماورالنهر باز داشتند
ومن رفته تغلقتيمور خان را ديدم ووي ديدن مرا
شگون كرفت واز من كنكاش خواست وانچه از
من شنيد همه را پسنديده داشت

ودرين حال بمسامع تغلقتيمور خان
رسيد كه امراي افواج سه كانه مبلغهاي وساوري
از اهالی ماورالنهر كرفته اند ودر ساعت آن مبلغ را
بر ايشان اطلاق كرد و تحصيلدار تعيين نمود
وايشان را از رفتن ماورالنهر منع كرد وايشانرا معزول
ساخت وحاجی محمود شاه يسوري را بجاي ايشان
نصب كرد .

وچون اين خبر بمسامع امرا رسيد
علم مخالفت بر افراخته مراجعت نمودند
ودر اين حال به اغلان خواجه كه ديوانبيكی
وامير

BUT in every action of the actions of my life, on which I had deliberated, I drew an omen from the sacred KORAUN, and I acted according to the direction thereof.

AND when I sought a presage in the KORAUN concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, the Chapter of Eusoof* (peace be with him) came forth: and I followed the direction of the sacred book.

THE FIRST MEASURE which my heart dictated unto me concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, was this. DESIGN I.

HAVING heard that Tughulluk Timour Khaun had appointed Begchuk, and Haujee Beg of the Tribe of Arkunut, and Allugh Tuktimour of the Tribe of Kurreet, and other Ameers of Jitteh, with three armies, to ravage and lay waste the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur; and that those three armies under those Ameers were arrived at Khuzzaur, behold, I deemed it necessary that I should first go unto them, and deceive them by presents, and excite their avarice by temptations, that they might withdraw their hands from desolating and ravaging the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, and from slaughtering the inhabitants thereof; until I should go and see Tughulluk Timour Khaun. A. D. 1369. A. TIM. 25.

* i.e. Joseph. Alluding to the protection which that patriarch afforded to his family, when in Egypt. See Sale's *Al* Koran. Chap. 12.

لیکن در هر امري از امور که کنکاش بر آن قرار مي یافت بقران فال مي کشادم وبحکم قران عمل مي نمودم

وچون در دیدن تغلغتیمور خان بمصحف فال کشودم سوره یوسف علیه السلام بر آمد وبحکم قران مجید عمل کردم

کنکاش اول که در دیدن تغلغتیمور خان از مشرق دلم سر بر زد این بود

که چون بمسامع من رسید که تغلغتیمور خان بیکچک وحاجي بیک ارکنت والغ تغتیمور کریت را با دیکر امراي جته سه فوج ساخته بتاخت وغارت مملکت ماورالنهر تعین نموده بودند و افواج امراي سه کانه در منزل خزار نزول نموده اند چون کنکاش دیدم که اول رفته امرا را بمال فریفته تطمیع نمایم که از تاخت وقتل وغارت ولایت ماورالنهر عنان بکشند تا آنکه من رفته تغلغتیمور خان را به بینم

وچون

"there are two perils, and but one advantage."* And they approved not of my counſel, and they turned towards Khorauſaun: and I alſo was divided within myſelf, whether I ſhould retire into Khorauſaun, or whether I ſhould ſee Tughulluk Timour. Book I.

AND on this occaſion I aſked counſel of my PEER; who in his anſwer wrote unto me, ſaying, "It was once demanded of the fourth Khulleefeh † (on "whom be the mercy of the creator), If the canopy of "heaven were a bow; and if the earth were the cord "thereof; and if calamities were the arrows; if man-"kind were the mark for thoſe arrows; and if Almighty "God (the tremendous and the glorious) were the uner-"ring Archer; to whom could the ſons of Adam flee "for protection?" The Khulleefeh anſwered, ſaying, "The ſons of Adam muſt flee unto the Lord? Thus, it "is thy duty at this time to flee unto Tughulluk Timour; "and to take from his hand the bow and the arrows of "wrath." And when I received this Anſwer, I became ſtrong of heart, and I went, and I ſaw Tughulluk Timour Khaun.

would be baniſhed from their country, and deprived of their Principalities; with no other advantage, but that of having ſecured for a time their own perſonal ſafety.

† The Caliph Aali.

است وبیک نفع ایشان کنکاش مرا قبول نکردند ومتوجه خراسان شدند ومن در رفتن خراسان ودیدن تغلقتیمور خان دو دله شدم

ودرین امر از پیر خود کنکاش خواستم ایشان در جواب من نوشتند که از خلیفه چهارم کرم الله وجهه سوال کردند که هرگاه اسمانها کمانها گردند وزمینها زه آن کمانها شوند وحوادث تیرها شوند وآدمیان هدف آن تیرها گردند وتیرانداز خدای باشد جل جلاله آدمیان بکجا بگریزند خلیفه در جواب فرمود که آدمیان را است که در خدا گریزند پس تراست که درینوقت در تغلقتیمور خان گریزی وتیر وکمانرا از دست وی بگیری واز رسیدن این جواب توی دل گشتم ورفته تغلقتیمور خانرا دیدم

* i. e. By obeying the ſummons of Tughulluk Timour it was poſſible that they might preſerve their country from depredation, and enſure the ſafety of their families and effects, at the riſque perhaps of their own lives. Whereas by diſobeying the ſummons, and retiring into Khorauſaun, they would

لیکن

AND I hearkened not to thoſe counſels which divided the hearts of my ſoldiers. * And every counſellor who gave his opinion under the dominion of fear, I turned my ear unto him: but to the man who ſpoke with judgment and with firmneſs, I liſtened with attention. Book I.

AND I aſked counſel from all: but I conſidered the good and the evil of every opinion; and from each I ſelected thoſe things which were juſt and expedient.

THUS when Tughulluk Timour Khaun, of the line of Chungaze, croſſed the waters of Khujjund with a determination to reduce the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, and iſſued mandates of ſummons in my name,† and in the names of Ameer Haujee Burlaus ‡, and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullauir; thoſe chiefs aſked counſel of me, ſaying, "Shall we flee into Khorauſaun, with our families and with our hords, or ſhall we go and ſee Tughulluk Timour Khaun?" I counſelled them, ſaying, "There are two advantages and one peril in ſeeing "Tughulluk Timour; and in fleeing to Khorauſaun

bility of the firſt rank in the Mogul empire; alſo to the commanders of bodies of troops. Ameer Haujee Burlaus was the uncle of Timour. He and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullauir were both chiefs of tribes in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur.

"there

وهر كنكاشي كه سپاه را دو دل مي ساخت از استماع آن احتراز ميكردم وهر صاحب كنكاش كه مضطربانه كنكاش ميكفت آنرا كوش ميكردم ومردي كه عاقلانه ومردانه سخن ميكرد آنرا مي شنيدم

و كنكاش از همه كس مي پرسيدم ليكن خير وشر هر سخن را ملاحظه مي نمودم وطرف صلاح وصواب آنرا اختيار ميكردم

چنانچه در وقتي كه تغلقتيمور خان نبيره چنكيز خان بعزم تسخير ماورالنهر از آب خجند كذشت ويرليغ طلب بنام من وامير حاجي برلاس وامير بايزيد جلاير صادر ساخت وايشان از من كنكاش خواستند كه با اهل والوس خود بجانب خراسان برويم يا رفته تغلقتيمور خان را به بينم من بايشان كنكاش كفتم كه در ديدن تغلقتيمور خان دو نفع است ويك ضرر ودر رفتن خراسان دو ضرر

* i. e. Such as occasioned a disunion of sentiments among them, or rendered them doubtful or apprehensive.

† i. e. To Timour &c. commanding them to submit and come in to him.

‡ *Ameer* signifies a *Prince*, or *Leader*; and is a title given to all the nobility

AND by experience it is known unto me, that thoſe are worthy to be counſellors, who ſteadfaſtly adhere to that which they ſay, and to that which they do; and who on no account relinquiſh the meaſures on which they have reſolved; and who, if they ſay, "We "will not do this," keep far from the action which they have condemned.

AND by experience it is known unto me, that there are two kinds of counſel—that which proceedeth from the tongue, and that which proceedeth from the receſs of the heart. I turned my ear to that which proceeded from the tongue; but to the counſel of the heart, which I heard, I gave a place in the treaſury of my ſoul.

AND in times of hoſtility I ſought counſel relative to peace and to war; and I ſtudied the hearts of my chiefs, whether they were deſirous of war or of peace. And if they adviſed peace, I compared the advantages of peace with the perils of war. And if they propoſed war, I oppoſed the profits and advantages thereof to the inconveniences and dangers that might follow from peace: and which ever appeared moſt profitable, that I preferred and approved.

AND

وبتجربه من رسید که صاحب کنکاش جمعی توانند بود که از روي اتفاق بر کفتار وکردار خود عازم باشند واز آن کار بهیچ وجه نکذرند واکر کویند نکنیم پیرامون آن کار نکردند

وبتجربه من رسید که کنکاش دو قسم است زباني وته دلي انچه زبانی مي شنیدم کوش میکردم وانچه ته دلی مي شنیدم در کوش دل جاي میدادم

ودر هنکام لشکرکشیها از صلح وجنک پرسش مینمودم ودلهاي امراي خود را مي جستم که جنک جویند یا صلح واکر از صلح سخن میکردند منافع صلح را با ضرر جنک مقابله مي نمودم واکر از جنک حرف میزدند نفع وفایده آنرا با ضرر صلح ملاحظه میکردم هرکدام غالب در نفع بود همان را اختیار مینمودم

وهر

advantages; and I confidered the perils thereof with the eye of attention. And every plan, in which I difcovered a two-fold hazard, I rejected; and I chofe that in which the peril was fingle. Book I.

Thus I advifed Tughulluk Timour Khaun, when his Ameers exalted the ftandard of rebellion in the Dufht of Jitteh. Behold he demanded counfel from me; and thus I faid unto him—"If thou fend an army "to difperfe and expel them, a two-fold danger may be "apprehended therefrom: * but if thou thyfelf advance "againft them, one peril only." And he acted according to my counfel, and turned towards the Dufht of Jitteh: and that which I had fore-told unto him, came to pafs.

And I entered on every meafure with counfel and advice; and in the execution of that meafure I acted on a plan which was uniform and good. And after examining the avenue of retreat, I entered on the execution thereof. And by fkill, and by refolution, and by caution, and by circumfpection, and by fore-fight, and by penetration I brought that enterprife to a fortunate conclufion.

* i. e. If he fent Forces, and went not himfelf, they might be defeated; or they might be prevailed upon to join the rebels: but the latter, if he went himfelf, was not to be apprehended.

کارراً بنظر اعتبار میدیدم وهر کاري که در آن دو خطر میدیدم طرح میکردم وکاري که یک خطر داشت اختیار مي نمودم

چنانچه من به تغلقتیمور خان صلاح دادم در وقتی که امراي وي در دشت جته علم مخالفت برافراختند از من کنکاش خواست وبوي کفتم که اکر فوج بدفع ورفع ایشان بفرستی دو خطر متصور است واکر خود متوجه شوي یک خطر ووي به کنکاش من عمل کرد ومتوجه دشت شد وچنان شد که بوي کفته بودم

ودر جمیع کارها مشاورت بکار بردم ودر انصرام آن کار تدبیر درست میکردم وراه بر آمدن آن کارراً ملاحظه نموده شروع در آن کار میکردم واز روي تدبیر وعزم درست وحزم واحتیاط وپیش بینی ودور اندیشي باتمام میرسانیدم

وبتجربه

AND Ameer Moosi and Mullik Bahaudur, with their twelve thousand horsemen, came and surrounded me in the castle of Khurshee. And I rested on the favour of the Almighty, and I sallied forth with skill and with circumspection from the castle, and I assaulted them repeatedly. And with those two hundred and forty and three people I defeated twelve thousand horsemen, and pursued them for many Fursungs.* Book I.

AND by experience it is known unto me, that counsel, and deliberation, and skilful measures are only to be found with the wise and the sagacious. Therefore, notwithstanding the conclusion of every worldly event, is covered by the curtain of Fate, yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud (on whom be the Blessing of the Almighty) in every enterprise which I undertook, I acted from counsel and deliberation.

AND when my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages of undertaking, or relinquishing, the enterprise before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions. And I duly weighed the advantages and the dis-

* Fursung is a league of about six thousand yards.

وبا دوازده هزار سوار امیر موسي وملک بهادر آمده مرا در قلعه قرشي محاصره نمودند ومن اعتماد بر تايید ایزدي کردم واز روي تدبیر واحتیاط از قلعه بر آمدم ومرتبه بمرتبه جنـــک کردم وباین دو صد وچهل وسه کس دوازده هزار سوارا شکست دادم وچند فرسنک راه تعاقب ایشان نمودم

وبتجربـــه من رسید که راي وتدبـــیر وکنکاش با مردي دانا دل هوشیار مي آید اکرچه تمشیت کارها در پرده تقدیر مستور است لیکن بر سنت سنیه محمدي صلي الله علیه وسلم هر کاري که کردم بمشاورت کردم

وچون ارباب راي وکنکاش جمع مي آمدند از خیر وشر ونفع وضرر کردن وناکردن کارها که در پـــیش بود پرسش مینمودم وچـــون سخنان ایشان را مي شنیدم هر دو طرف آنرا ملاحظه مي کردم ونـــفـــع وضرر آنرا بخـــاطر مي آوردم ومخاطرات آن

کـــار

of the requisites for conducting the affairs of dominion nine tenths are Deliberation, and Counsel, and provident Measures; and that the Sword is one portion only.

FOR the experienced have said, "By Policy kingdoms may be conquered, and numerous hosts may be defeated, which by the Swords of united armies cannot be overthrown."

AND by experience it is known unto me, that one tried soldier, of magnanimity, and of bravery, and of resolution, and of skill, and of circumspection is more valuable than a thousand men who want discretion and knowledge. For one experienced and able soldier can direct the efforts of thousands of thousands.

AND by experience it is known unto me, that victory over the foe proceedeth not from the greatness of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers: for conquest is obtained by the Divine Favour, and by skilful and judicious measures.

THUS, aided by deliberation and foresight, with two hundred and forty three warriors only, I came down on the castle of Kurshee. † And in the castle and the neighbourhood thereof, Ameer Moosi and Mullik Bahaudur had sat down with twelve thousand horsemen; and by the aid of Almighty God and by skilful measures I subdued the castle of Kurshee.

† A city of Mauwur u Nuhur, or Transoxiana, Long. 99. Lat. 39.

AND

حصه مشاورت وتدبیر وکنکاش است ویک حصه
شمشیر

که کفته اند به تدبیري ملکها توان
کشاد وفوجها توان شکست که بشمشیرهاي لشکرها
میسر نشود

وبتجربه من رسید که یک مرد کاردیده
شجاع مردانه صاحب عزم وتدبیر وحزم بهتر از هزار
مرد بي تدبیر وحزم است چه یک مرد کاردیده هزار
هزار مردرا کار فرماید

وبتجربه من رسید که غالب شدن بر
مخالفان نه از بسیاري لشکر است ومغلوب شدن
نه از کمي سپاه بلک غالب شدن بتایید وتدبیر
است

چنانچه من با دو صد وچهل وسه کس
از روي کنکاش وتدبیر بر سر قلعه قرشي که امیر
موسي وملک بهادر با دوازده هزار سوار در قلعه
وحوالي قلعه نشسته بودند آمدم وبتایید تنکري
تعالي وتدبیر درست قلعه قرشي را مسخر کردانیدم
وبا

For my PEER† wrote unto me, ſaying, Book I.
"Let Abu'l Munsour Timour, in conducting the "important concerns of government, take by the hand "four aſſiſtants; to wit, Deliberation, and Counſel, and "Vigilance, and Circumſpection.

"For every government which ſhall be "void of deliberation and counſel, is like unto a fooliſh "man, who erreth in all which he ſayeth and doeth; "and whoſe actions and words bring forth no fruit but "ſhame and repentance. It is therefore good that in "conducting the affairs of thy government, thou act "with deliberation and with counſel; that thou mayeſt "not in the end be aſhamed and confounded.

"And know, that the requiſites for con-"ducting the concerns of empire are one portion pa-"tience and forbearance, and one portion pretended neg-"ligence and feigning to know not that which thou "knoweſt—and that by acting with reſolution, and with "uprightneſs, and with patience, and with vigilance, and "with caution, and with bravery, every undertaking "will become eaſy and ſucceſsful. Farewell."

And behold this letter was a guide which pointed out to me the way; and ſhewed unto me, that

him on all occaſions, and paid the moſt implicit attention to his counſels. *Peer* in the Perſian language ſignifies *old* or *aged*; hence a *Father*: which is the appellation by which Timour diſtinguiſhes him throughout this work.

که پیـر من بمن نوشت که ابـو
المنصور تیمور در امـور سلطنت چـهار امررا بدست
بگیرد یعني کنکاش ومشورت وحزم واحتیاط
که هر سلطنتي که از کنکاش ومشورت
خالي باشد چـون شخصي است جاهل که انچه
کند وگوید همه غلط باشد وگفتار وکردارش سر
بسر پشیماني وندامت بار آورد پس بهتر است که در
تمشیت امور سلطنت خودرا بمشاورت وتدبـیـر عمل
نماي تا آخر نادم وپشیمان نکردي
وبدان که در امور سلطنت یک حصه
صبـر وتحمل است ویک حصه تغافل وتجاهل بعد
از تعارف واز کار کردن بعزیمت وصبر واستقامت
وحـزم واحتیاط وشجاعت جمیع امـور میسر میشود
والســلام

وگویا این مکتوب هادي بود که مرا
راه نمود وظـاهـر ساخت که در امـور سلطنت نه

† Koottub ul Aktaub Sheikh Zine u deen Aboo Bukkur: a devout and learned man defcended from the Mahummudan Lawgiver, who foretold to TIMOUR the power and greatnefs to which he would arrive. It appears that this prince confidered him in the light of a ghoftly father, confulted him

حصه

## Book the First.

## DESIGNS and ENTERPRISES.

* THUS I formed meaſures and deſigns for the reduction of kingdoms, and for the obtainment of empire, and for defeating armies, and for circumventing enemies, and for making friends of foes, and for going out, and for coming in, amongſt friends and enemies.

moſt important Schemes and Enterpriſes, which conſequently lead to a knowledge of the genius, abilities, and extraordinary actions of the man; it has been deemed a proper introduction to that part of the Work, which may with propriety be ſtiled his INSTITUTES. Another reaſon for prefixing this part of the Work to the other, is, that from the ſimplicity of the Narrative, it will (in the beginning) be better adapted to the uſe of thoſe who are inclined to ſtudy the Perſian Language.

## مقالت اول

## في تدبيرات وكنكاشها

تزوک وكنكاش * امور ملكگيري وجهانداري ولشكرشكني ودشمن را بدام آوردن ودوست ساختن مخالفان ودر آمدن وبر آمدن بميان دوستان ودشمنان چنين كردم

* In order to account for the abruptness of this Exordium, it is necessary to inform the Reader, that this part of the Work in the Original followed the INSTITUTES, and by the Royal author was undoubtedly considered as a part of them, under the Denomination of DESIGNS and ENTERPRISES; which he appears to have given as Models of Conduct to others in similar situations. But as it is presumed that little more than the Name of TIMOUR is known to the generality of Europeans, and as this part of the Work contains an abridged account of his most

تـزوكات تـيـمـور

مـقـالـت اول

فـي تدبـيـرات وكنكاشـهـا

# THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

## BOOK THE FIRST.

## DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES.

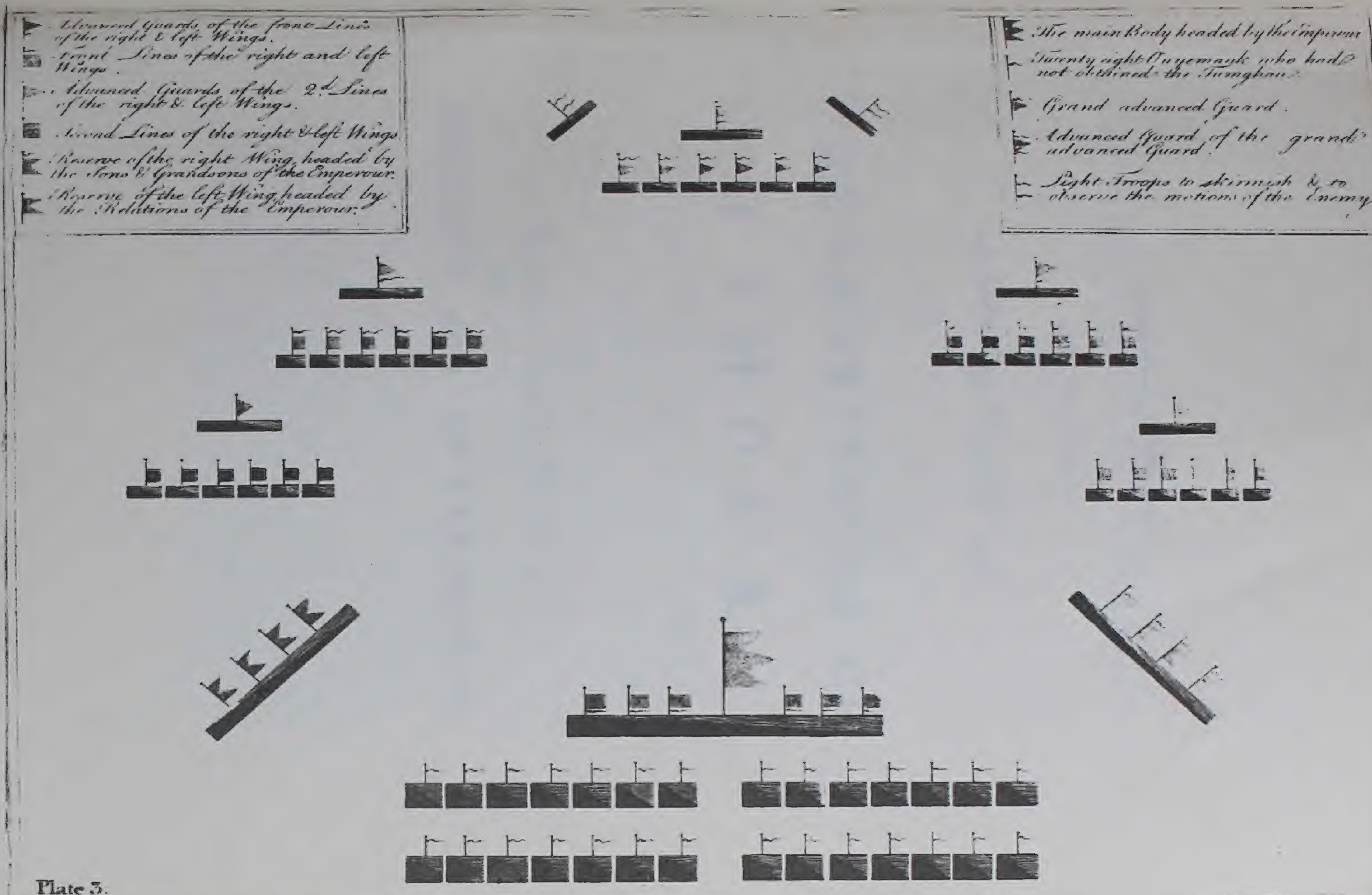

Advanced Guards of the front Lines of the right & left Wings.
Front Lines of the right and left Wings.
Advanced Guards of the 2d Lines of the right & left Wings.
Second Lines of the right & left Wings.
Reserve of the right Wing, headed by the Sons & Grandsons of the Emperour.
Reserve of the left Wing headed by the Relations of the Emperour.
The main Body headed by the Emperour
Twenty eight Ouyemauk who had not obtained the Tunghau.
Grand advanced Guard.
Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
Light Troops to skirmish & to observe the motions of the Enemy.

Plate 3.

Plate 1

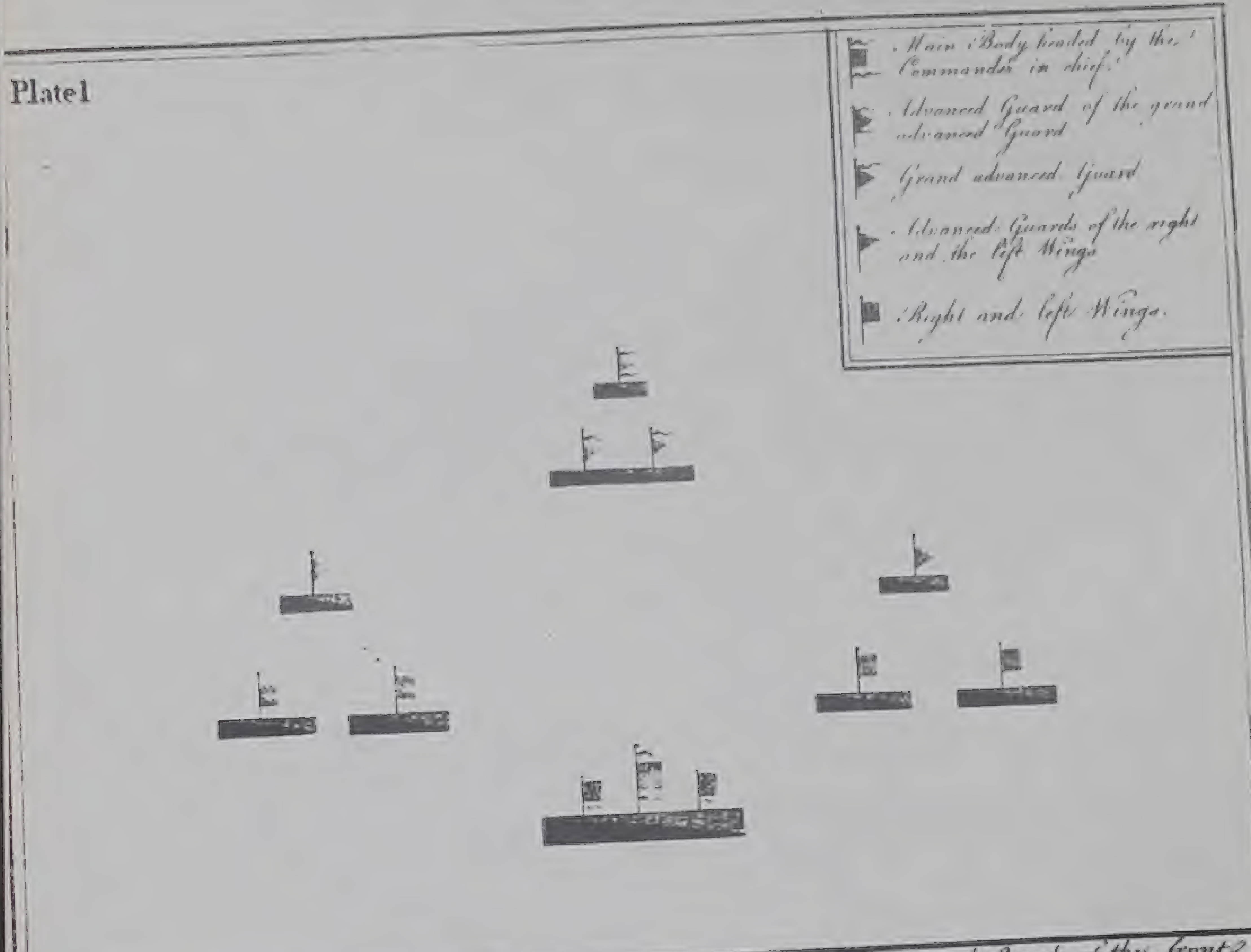
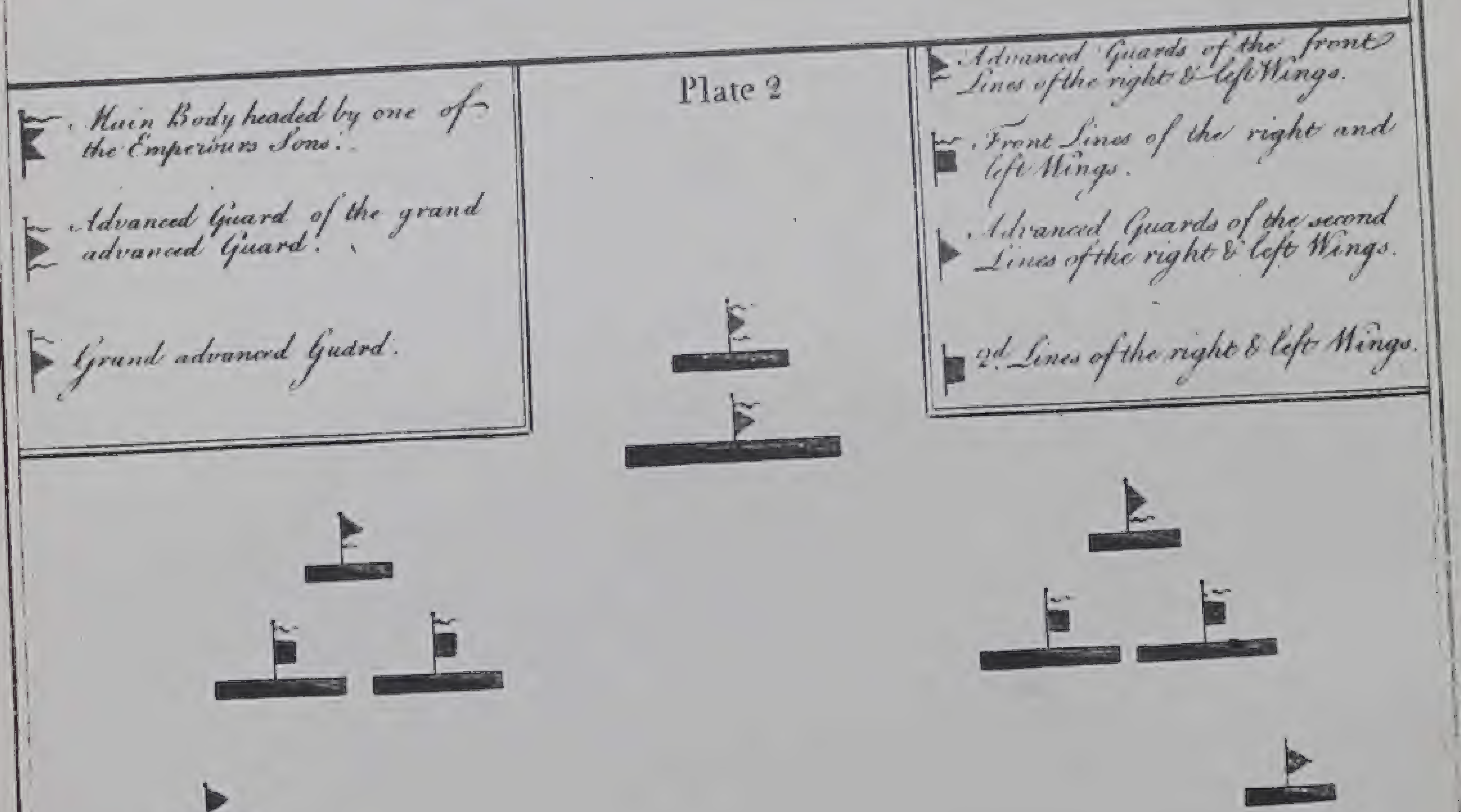



Plate 2



in the hour of retirement. And I ſupplicated their bleſſings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and in my deliberations, I reaped the greateſt advantages from their mediation." [a] 207.

"I united my ſelf with holy and pious men: with thoſe to whom the All-mighty had given wiſdom. And I aſſociated with them. And I heard from them the word of GOD. And I acquired knowledge of the bleſſings of a future ſtate. And I ſaw them perform miracles and wonderful things. And I reaped delight from their converſation." 215.

[*Annotation* on the NOTE, P. 215.

Timour is often tautologic and indiſtinct. But I am willing to allow that the firſt, third, and tenth Orders were really different. (I mean that whether different or not in their ſelves, eſſentially, they were ſome how diſtinguiſht then and there.) Yet I aſſent not to the diſtinction in this Note. None of theſe claſſes is ſaid by Timour to live in ſecluſion. [b] And perhaps both the third and tenth might live ſo. The Eaſtern hermits are not more alike than the Weſtern. Timour's variety appears to me thus. The firſt were regular, authoritative divines. The third were good men: whoſe merits and interceſſions have generally been believed to avail. The tenth were ſuch as moreover had extraordinary communications with heaven: receiving thence miraculous revelations, gifts and powers. Theſe are really diſtinct in their ſelves.]

"Relative to the various tribes who ſought ſheltre under my government, I commanded that thoſe who were Theologians ſhould be received with reverence: and that all their deſires ſhould be fulfilled: and that they ſhould be ſupported in affluence." 217.

"Thy good actions, and the bleſſings which the people of the All-mighty receive from thy hands, are equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and ſanctity." [c] 263.

"In every nation He that feareth GOD, and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted with Him."

[a] The notion that good perſons are ſo acceptable to GOD, that for their ſakes he confers favors on the leſs deſerving, is not peculiar to the Chriſtian or Moſaic œconomy. ——The blood of JESUS is ſaid to ſpeak better than that of Abel. Not that the latter, as ſome conſtrue it, cried for vengeance. But the former was a better mediator. Abel was conſidered as a mediator, and petitions offered to GOD in his name. His blood was eſpecially ſacred.

[b] Solitude no more proves ſanctity than ſanity. Many a ſpiritual as well as carnal peſt-houſe ſtands alone. — This is borrowed from Fuller's "holy ſtate."

[c] Let this be ſet againſt ſuperſtition.

ward Hindoſtaun I repeted the prayer of victory." 133.

"Praiſe is due to the God of the univerſe, that He hath brought under my authority many of the kingdoms of the world." 147.

"May God be merciful to that ſervant[a] who knoweth his own limits: and who placeth not the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds." ibid.

"And among the rules which I eſtabliſht for the ſupport of my empire, the firſt was, That I promoted the worſhip of Almighty God: and at all times, and in all places, ſupported the true faith."[b] 159.

"It is known to me by experience that every empire, which is not eſtabliſht in morality and religion, ſhall paſs away." 175.

"I appointed a man of holineſs and illuſtrious dignity to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times,[c] and appoint ſuperiors in holy offices: and eſtabliſh in every city and in every town a doctor learned in the ſacred law:[d] and ordain ſalaries for ſuperior eccleſiaſtics and for holy men, and for men of knowledge."[e] 177.

"I commanded that they ſhould build places of worſhip in every city." 179.

"He put an end to thoſe diviſions. And by ſo doing gave ſtrength to our holy law."[f] 183.

"Encreaſe thou thy good actions that thy benevolent Creator may encreaſe his mercies to thee." 197.

"The different offices in an earthly empire are ſymbols of thoſe in the empire of the Creator. In which are laborers, agents &c. And they are all buſied in their proper departments. And they ſeek not to overleap the bounds allotted them. And they wait in perpetual obedience to the will of the Lord." 201.

"We cannot be profuſe[g] in our offerings to Almighty God." 203.

"I granted admiſſion to Theologians, and to holy men. And they reſorted at all times to my palace. And they adorned my imperial aſſembly by their preſence." 205.

"I revered devout and pious men. And I implored their prayers

[a] This was addreſt to Bajazet. Would all princes conſider and conduct their ſelves as the *ſervants* of God! [b] Thus far is right. But whatſoever is more cometh of evil. Support the true faith. Promote it. It cannot be enforced. To attempt that is the effort of a zeal not according to knowledge, ſet on fire of hell. The faith of force is not that which worketh by love. Therefore not that which fulfils the law. Much the ſame may be ſaid of puniſhing hereſy. The civil power ſhould puniſh civil crimes. What hurts the ſtate is a civil crime. Nothing elſe comes under the magiſtrate's vindictive power. [c] That was great authority. Timour (not to derogate from the purity of his intention) found his accompt in favoring the religious. They are important. And he gained their favor. 179 &c. [d] The appointer was an arch-biſhop, as it were. Here we ſee ſome regal power in the church. Indeed if a prince muſt ſupport religion, he muſt have ſome eccleſiaſtic authority. [e] "The prieſt ſhall preſerve knowledge." — Beſide all this power, this man had the appointment of judges and ſupervisors of the markets. [f] Is this unworthy the attention of Chriſtians? Would not our ſtrength be ſtrengthened by union? Yet can we hope it? Scarcely while any among us, like thoſe divided ones, "fulminate curſes and denounce execrations" one at another. Much leſs, while, like them, any "procede to hoſtilities." [g] Taking that word in a bad ſenſe.

the glorious) were the unerring archer —— to whom could the ſons of Adam flee for protection? The ſons of Adam muſt flee unto the Lord."[a] 17.

Timour in all his actions ſought an omen from the Koraun —— his Bible.[b] 19, 75, 89 &c.

"And I gave praiſe unto GOD, and I ſaid unto my ſelf, GOD doeth great things for me." 49. *N.B.* So he ſays on all ſuch occaſions.

"And on that night, which was a holy night, I kept watch. And when the morning broke I was emploid in prayer. And after repeting the prayers preſcribed by the law I lifted up my hands in ſupplication. And in the midſt of my ſupplication I wept. &c." 51. *N.B.* He was then diſtreſt. Mark the good effect of this in "Remarkable Events." ibid.

"And the hour of prayer was arrived. And we prayed together."[c] 55.

"I opened the holy book for an omen. And this ſacred verſe came forth as a ſign. "How oft do the weak vanquiſh the powerful, by the permiſſion of All-mighty GOD." 75.

"The forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh ſpent that night in watching. And I in that night, on the top of that hill, was emploid in humiliations and ſupplications to the throne of All mighty GOD. And between ſleeping and waking I heard a voice as of ſome one ſpeaking to me, ſaying, "Timour, victory and conqueſt, and triumph, are thine." And when the morning broke I praid with my people."[d] 79.

"And at this time Baubau Aali Shaah came before me, and ſaid, "Timour, GOD All-mighty hath declared, that if there were two GODS in the Heavens and in the earth, the order of the univerſe would end in horror and confuſion." And I took warning by his words." 89.

"By the favor of All-mighty GOD I obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle."[e] 99.

Timour having received an inſidious invitation, wherein he ſuſpected treachery and danger, yet becauſe it was accompanied with a Koraun, on which amity had been ſworn, out of reſpect to the Koraun he reſolved to go."[f] 101.

"And I reſted on the favor of the All-mighty."[g] 127.

"I will turn to All-mighty GOD, that whatever be the will of GOD, that I may do." 131.

"Having pitcht my tents toward

[a] This is applied to ſhew, one muſt repair to a hoſtile ſuperior, too ſtrong to be reſiſted, in ſubmiſſion. [b] This has been (with our Bible) an immemorial practice among Chriſtians.) (And a ſimilar among many people.) Auſtin notes ſome that took *Sortes* from the goſpels. (Ep. 119.) The ſame with the pſalms or goſpels, or any thing elſe, is condemned in Charles the Great's Capitular. (Cap. 4.) Cedrenus relates that Heraclus ordered his army to live purely three days, then opening the goſpels he conſtrued the place preſented as an order to winter in Albany. Peter Bleſenſis conſtrued a viſion of his from a paſſage opened on in the pſalter. (Ep. 30.) & plura, &c. Beſide the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and the like. [c] Vid. Remarkable Events. ibid. [d] Immediately follows a ſignal victory. [e] This was after a moſt painful and perilous adventure. Yet he attributes the ſucceſs to GOD alone. [f] And eſcaped, having defeated thoſe who attackt him. [g] And proſpered.

Joubeen, who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general[a] of his father, with 320000 Persians to oppose him. And he engaged that prince. And for 3 days and for 3 nights the slaughter continued with great fury. At length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatcht intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz. And he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken. And the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, "Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy. And he hath seized to his self the sword and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun, ornamented with jewels of price." And Hurmuz forgot the services of Behraum. And he credited the accusations. And he pronounced him a traitor. And, in token of his anger and contempt, he sent a chain to him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.[b] And Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he fastened the chain. And he clothed his self in the female attire. And he called the Ameers and the chiefs of his soldiers together. And thus habited he gave public audience to his people. And when they beheld Behraum they uttered revilings against their prince. And they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz. And under the banners of Behraum Joubeen they proceeded to the palace of the king. And they deprived him of his regal authority."[c] 285.

[a] In warring countries it may be often convenient to unite these characters. [b] How poor females are despised in the East! Yet no where more loved. So do esteem and love differ. [c] Contrast with this Chughtai Khaun's story. p. 249.

## THEOLOGIC AND RELIGIOUS SENTENCES OF TIMOUR.

VICTORY procedeth not from the greatness of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers. For conquest is obtained by the divine favor [and skilful measures.] P. 7. et seq.

"If the canopy of heaven were a bow, and if the earth were the cord[a] thereof, and if calamities were the arrows, if mankind were the mark for those arrows, and if Allmighty GOD (the tremendous and

[a] It appears hence that the convexity of the terraqueous globe was not thought of by the Caliph. He considered the flat, horizontal surface of the earth as like the cord.

the

ſuperior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen, noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head and ſtretched forth his arms in ſupplication; his prayer was not yet concluded when the effects of his mediation became apparent." 207.

"When one of my wives was afflicted with a deadly diſtemper, 12 holy Siuds celebrated for their piety aſſembled together. And each of them devoted a year of his own exiſtence to her preſervation. And ſhe was reſtored to health: and enjoid the full meaſure of their donation."[a] 207.

"Several of thoſe in whom I confided, from envy and malice communicated fictitious tales to me, both in public and private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus; who was one of my moſt powerful and moſt faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my reſentment by their falſe reports. And in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death. And in the end I diſcovered the perfidy of his accuſers. And I was aſhamed and confounded at my own conduct."[b] 247.

"Mullick Shaah Siljokee diſgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk, who was adorned with every great and ſhining quality; and appointed an ignoble and worthleſs man in his place. By the ill conduct, viciouſneſs and villainy of that miniſter the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned." 255.

"Munguli Booghau advanced with an army againſt me. And before the engagement I ſent propoſals to him, and endeavored to draw him over to my ſide.[c] But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun. And he formed his troops in order of battle. And he charged my forces with undaunted reſolution. And he was defeated. And when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, I raiſed him to an exalted ſtation. And ſuch were the favors which I conferred upon him, that if any reſentment remained in his heart, it was obliterated. And he ſignalized his ſelf in my ſervice, and conferred obligations on me. And when I encountered Kurrau Euſoof, in the moment that my troops were diſcouraged and thrown into confuſion he placed on his ſpear the head of a hoſtile commander. And he named it the head of Kurrau Euſoof, and called to my forces, that Kurrau Euſoof was ſlain. And he gave courage to my ſoldiers. And he ruſht on the centre of Kurrau Euſoof's line, and drove him from the fields." 281.

"When the Khaukaun advanced againſt Hurmuz, the ſon of Nouſharevaun, with an army of 3 hundred thouſand ſanguinary Toorks, that prince ſent forth Behraum

[a] i. e. Lived 12 years longer. Could not he get a farther prolongation of her life? or was he tired of her? [b] What muſt be the feelings of an honeſt, humane mind, in ſuch a caſe! From the horrible miſery of ſuch conduct how happily are thoſe princes ſecured whoſe authority and it's acts the laws define! What then is he who would be abſolute? knows he his own weakneſs? knows he the craft of others? or cares he not for miſchief? [c] Timour knew it would be for his advantage to ſeduce Munguli Booghau. Had he yielded to the temptation, Timour would have deſpiſed, deteſted, perhaps puniſht him.

unto me a Koraun by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendſhip and brotherly affection towards me, and ſent a meſſage unto me, ſaying, "If there be ought in my heart contrary to that which I ſay, and if I break my oath and do evil unto thee, may this book of God ſeize upon me."[a] Seeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words. And he ſent a perſon unto me, and a meſſage, ſaying, "If it may be ſo that we may ſee each other in the paſs of Chukchuk and renew our antient faith, truly it will be better." And this was his deſign: that by perfidy and treachery he might ſeize on me. And altho' I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word or on his oath, yet out of reſpect to the holy Koraun I reſolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would firſt ſend a number of my reſolute warriors and ſecrete them round about the paſs of Chukchuk, and that I my ſelf would go with another body of my people, and ſee Ameer Hooſſein And I ſent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooſſein, that they ſhould inform me of his deſigns. And Share Behraum, who was of my friends,[b] informed me of the deſigns of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein ſlew him:[c] and ſet out with a thouſand horſemen to come upon me. And at that time I had pitcht my tents at the entrance of the paſs, and this news came unto me. And I ordered my forces. And behold the Van guard of Ameer Hooſſein appeared in ſight. And my Kurrauvulaun brought word, ſaying, "It is the army of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein cometh not with them. For he hath heard that Ameer[d] is come alone, and he hath ſent an army to ſeize Thee." And behold I was prepared, and two hundred horſe-men were all that were with me.[e] And I waited until the forces of Ameer Hooſſein had entered the paſs. And I ſent a meſſenger to the people whom I had ſent before me, and I commanded them to ſeize the way of retreat. And I my ſelf oppoſed them face to face. And I encloſed my enemies in that paſs, and took many of them priſoners. And Ameer Hooſſein was confounded and made excuſes. And I had faith in him no more. And I was no more deceived by his words." 101.

"When in an engagement with Touktummiſh Khaun my forces were thrown into confuſion by the

[a] Was this imprecation implied in the oath, and only repeted in another form according to the Eaſtern manner? Or is it ſomewhat more? The oath only aſſuring that the profeſſion was as true as that by which it was ſworn. And the (ſuppoſed or real) book of God, among it's believers, is eſteemed the pureſt and moſt certain truth. Therefore to ſwear fallely by it is the greateſt crime. It is to ſay that a wicked lye is as true as the divine word. If this be accompted to incur the curſes of the book, the oath implies an imprecation. [b] He had revolted from Timour and was reconciled. p. 55. Yea twice. 87. [c] A reconciled foe, even a faithleſs friend (as in this Inſtance) *reconciled*, may prove a friend faithful unto death. Who then would revenge? [d] Timour. [e] About his perſon. Not including thoſe ſent before, and ſecreted round the paſs.

ſuperior

## REMARKABLE EVENTS.

TIMOUR with 243 warriors ſubdued a caſtle fortified by 1200. P. 7.

He was once brought low. He had but 7 on horſes, and 3 on foot. He carried his wife (whom he calls "honored"[a]) behind on his horſe. He wandered in the deſert, and one night alighted at a well. Three of his people ran away with 3 horſes. So he had 7 men and 4 horſes left. Yet he was ſtrong of heart and did not lament. Then Aali Beg came upon him, carried him off and impriſoned him in a place full of vermin, with a guard over him. There he lay 62 days. Then he wreſted a ſword from his guards, attackt them and they fled. Upon which he preſented his ſelf before Aali Beg. Who being confounded made excuſes, gave him his liberty, reſtored his arms and horſes, adding as a preſent a lean horſe, and a worn out camel: but kept back part of his property. 35.

"And I implored All-mighty God that He would deliver me from that wandering life. And I had not yet reſted from my devotions when a number of people appeared afar off. And I mounted my horſe and I came in behind them. And I aſked of them, ſaying, "Warriors who are Ye?" And they anſwered unto me, "We are the ſervants of Ameer Timour, and we wander ſeeking him, and lo! we find him not." And I ſaid unto them, "I alſo am one of the ſervants of Ameer: how ſay ye if I be your guide and bring you unto Him?" And one of them put his horſe to ſpeed and went and carried news to the leaders, ſaying, "We have found a guide who can lead us to Ameer Timour." And the leaders gave orders that I ſhould appear before them. And they were three troops. And when their eyes fell on me they were overwhelmed with joy. And they alighted from their horſes, and they came and they kneeled, and they kiſſed my ſtirrup. And I alſo came down from my horſe, and took each of them in my arms. And they wept. And I wept. And we mounted our horſes, and came to my dwelling. And I collected my people together and made a feaſt. And on the next day Share Behraum, who had ſeparated from me, in the narrowneſs of his heart, arrived alſo. And he made excuſes. And I took him into my arms. And I accepted his excuſes. And I treated him with ſuch kindneſs that he came forth from his confuſion." 53.

"Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the ſon of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and ſtrong ſpirits. And in the end the wine deſtroid him, and he departed from the world. And I took poſſeſſion of his lands." 89.

"When Ameer Hooſſein ſent

[a] Remarkable in the Eaſt.

the hour of battle giveth not his heart from his hand, nor permitteth apprehenſion to take poſſeſſion of his ſoul: who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confuſion can by his abilities reſtore them to order: who can rule armies with majeſty and authority, and who hath the vigor to chaſtiſe thoſe who riſe in oppoſition to his commands." 269.

A ſuperior officer ſhould not be ſent on a ſervice which an inferior can do. 273.

"Every one of the Ameers who from a ſpirit of enterpriſe demanded employment, his requeſt ſhould be granted [a]. ibid.

"An atchievement from attention to perſonal ſafety in the moment of peril ſhould not be regarded." 275.

"The right of the warrior ſhould not be injured. The ſoldier grown in years ſhould not be deprived of his ſtation or wages. The actions of the ſoldier ſhould not be ſuppreſt. For thoſe men who ſell their *permanent happineſs for periſhable honor* are worthy of reward." [b] 277.

Every ſoldier to have the (extra) price of his ſervices paid him. — Hoſtile ſoldiers, captive, not to be killed, have it offered to ſerve in the conqueror's army, or liberty. [c] — If a hoſtile ſoldier, brave and faithful to his own commander, from choice or neceſſity come under another authority, his good qualities and actions to be rated as if originally in the latter ſervice. 279.

"I ordained, that whoever of my Ameers ſubdued and wreſted a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the ſpace of 3 years the vice-gerency of that kingdom ſhould be conferred on him." [d] 291.

The ſoldier who turns his face from the foe, muſt appear no more. — He who on the day of enterpriſe demandeth his diſmiſſion, be in contempt &c. 315.

"If one fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the inſinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice. Permit not his glory to be concealed. But let it be exhibited in ten-fold ſplendor." [e] 321.

[a] If he failed, his own ſelf-willed temerity was the cauſe. If he proſpered, the fruit was the prince's. [b] What a ſale! What a ſentiment! [c] That ſhould be on promiſe to ceaſe hoſtility. [d] But care muſt be taken againſt his oppreſſion and peculation. [e] For many good military directions, ſee p. 375. et ſeq.

toward the mountains. And ſpoils, and wealth, above meaſure, fell to my ſoldiers." 139.

"And I let looſe the brave men."[a] 143.

"I gave encouragement to my ſoldiers. And with money, and with jewels, I made them glad of heart. And I permitted them to come into the banquet. And in the field they hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my gold nor ſilver. And I educated, and trained them to arms. And to alleviate their ſufferings, I myſelf ſhared in their labors, and in their hardſhips." 161.

"I hazarded my perſon in the hour of danger."[b] 163.

"I kept my ſoldiers ſuſpended between hope and fear." 199.

"The chiefs and the commanders of my forces I admitted to my councils. And I raiſed them to exalted dignities. And I aſſociated, and converſed familiarly with them." 207.

"I loved thoſe intrepid warriors who had given repeted proofs of their courage and abilities.[c] And I propoſed queſtions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in ſituations of peril, and the methods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of ſkirmiſhing, and all the other operations of war. And I placed confidence in them. And I conſulted their opinions in proportion to their ſkill and experience." 207.

"The brave from among my ſoldiers I diſtinguiſht by gifts and honors." 209.

"I kept my troops in a ſtate of readineſs. And I advanced to them their wages, even before it was due." ibid.

"My ſoldiers of every rank I confined in ſuch ſort to their ſeveral ſtations, that they could not ſtep beyond the limits preſcribed to them." ibid.

"Relative to the various tribes who ſought ſhelter under my government, Thoſe who were ſoldiers I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank &c." 217.

"And the genuine deſcendant of a ſoldier reſolute and brave, of whatever tribe, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces."[d] 219.

*N.B.* Particular regulations for the army are here omitted. They are detailed, p. 229 &c.

"I commanded that if any one of my ſoldiers, exceding the limits preſcribed him, ſhould injure, he ſhould be delivered into the hands of the injured perſon, that he might retaliate." 251.

"By experience it is known to me, that he only is equal to ſtations of power, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating armies: who in

[a] "Let ſlip the dogs of war."

[b] A part of character eſſential to a war-chief.

[c] Both theſe were neceſſary to make a ſoldier important with Timour. And a general, who makes *fit* perſons important, will gain as much conſequence as he gives.—The like is true in all governments as well as the military.

[d] Fortes creantur fortibus.

ſhould aſſault the foe. And that when the two armies were engaged, the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh Khaun ſhould invert his ſtandard.[a] And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded that the tents ſhould be pitched, and that they ſhould prepare victuals.[b] And at this time the ſtandard of Touktummiſh Khaun was inverted. And Touktummiſh, diſmaid and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of deſolation; and turned his back on the field of ſlaughter, and fled." 123.

When Timour's Ameers objected to attacking Hindoſtaun, he anſwered them ſaying, "I will ſeek the ſign of war in the Koraun." And they all conſented thereto. And this ſacred verſe came forth, "O Prophet! fight with the infidels and the unbelievers."[c] 131.

"I deliberated with myſelf concerning the Ameers, whether I ſhould throw them down from their commands. But ſince I myſelf had exalted them, I ſought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindneſs, although they had angered me." 133.

"And the whole of my army was 92 thouſand horſe-men: according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God. And I took this number as a fortunate and a happy omen." 135.

"It came into my mind, that if I ſhould reſolve on ſubduing the caſtle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious. And I counſelled with myſelf, that I would make myſelf appear weak in their ſight: that the enemy might gain courage, and fight with me on the plane.[d] And I dug a ditch round my army, and I ſtrengthened myſelf within that ditch. And I ſent a force to meet them. And I commanded the ſoldiers that they ſhould ſhew their ſelves weak and fearful. And when the enemies found their ſelves powerful, they exulted. And they came into the plane. And they oppoſed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle. And he was defeated, and he fled

a The ſtandard ſeems equally important in moſt armies. [b] David ſpeaks of a table ſpread in ſight of enemies. Timour did this to ſhew his defiance of the foe, and certainty of victory. This, if he gained the conqueſt, would give him confidence among the ſoldiers. But how if the already falſe ſtandard-bearer had been falſe to Timour? How if his ſeeming plotting with him had been really againſt him? This is one of the many riſques which heroes have been remarked for running. Had they failed they would have been called raſh. Having proſpered they are ſtiled glorious. It may be ſometimes *neceſſary* to dare at hazard. But events alter not the characters of actions. Nor is that the beſt glory which is acquired by chance. [c] Timour was reſolved in his ſelf. He wiſhed an omen that ſhould ſuit his reſolution. He was prepared to conſtrue a doubtful one in it's favor. Do Chriſtians always conſult their bible more impartially? Even in matters of doctrine, where paſſion and intereſt are generally leſs concerned? —This uſe of the Koraun is of the ſame kind with auguries and other omen-ſeekings. It is an addreſs to popular prejudices. It is applying a ſtrong motive. — How deſirable that princes in Chriſtendom would, at leaſt, as implicitly obey the more peaceable dictates of their goſpel, as the hero Timour did the warlike verſe of his fighting Prophet!
[d] They were in the caſtle.

toward

tinued in the caſtles. And I ſaw it was not good that I ſhould ſend my armies againſt them. And I wrote a ſummons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I ſent forces with him. And I commanded them to ſhew themſelves, and to raiſe a great duſt. And when the Ouzbuks received the ſummons of Ouleaus Khaujeh,[a] calling them to him,[b] and ſaw the duſt raiſed by my people, they quitted the caſtles, night after night,[c] and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from thoſe oppreſſors, who had ſought to ſlay me. And that kingdom ſubmitted to my government."[d] 105.

"Although I had determined to put them to death, yet as they were warriors, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould diſpel their fears, and employ them in war."[e] 109.

"And I ſaw my ſucceſs in this, that I ſhould throw the people of Khorauſaun into the ſleep of negligence. And I turned toward Summurkund. And when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had ſat down quiet, I reſolved thus, 'Now the hearts of the people of Khorauſaun are no longer affraid of me, I muſt fall upon them.' And I turned back. And I marched with ſpeed. And coming to Hurraut I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the ſleep of ſecurity." 111.

"I ſaw my advantage in this, that I ſhould ſpeak fair to his ambaſſador, and diſmiſs him, and ſhut up the road to the Duſht,[f] and appoint an army to ſet out after the ambaſſador: And that on the day after that on which the ambaſſador ſhould enter the preſence of Auroos Khaun without ſuſpicion, whilſt Auroos Khaun ſhould be unprepared, my forces ſhould aſſault him. And even while the ambaſſador related his ſtory my victorious armies, like an unforeſeen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppoſe them. And the Duſht of Kipchauk was ſubdued." 115.

No more army to be taken on an expedition than can be maintained. (Elſe they will mutiny or decay.)[g] 121.

"And my people were a hungered. And the army of Touktummiſh Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers ſet not their hearts upon battle, until my ſons and my grandſons came and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me. And at this time the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh plotted ſecretly with me.[h] And I found it was good that I

a As they believed. b Perhaps to ſtrengthen his army for ſome ſudden expedition. c To keep it as ſecret as might be, that the caſtles were unmanned. d What became of the Ouzbuks who left the caſtles? Did not they go to Timour's army, taking it for Ouleaus Khaujeh's? Were not they then taken priſoners? Timour ſays nothing of them. e But they muſt be watched. f Why? To retard the ambaſſador? If he made it quite impaſſable, there muſt have been ſome other (probably longer or worſe) road which the ambaſſador took. g This admits ſome variety, when the army can be ſuſtained at coſt of the enemy — as in foraging or plundering the country. h See p. 175. for Timour's private opinion, and, in general, public acknowledgment of ſuch behaviour.

ſhould

brought word that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Moosi saying, 'We saw Ameer Timour on the border of the waters of Amuveah, and he was going toward Khoraufaun.' And when Ameer Moosi and the forces of Ameer Hooffein heard this news, they were glad of heart. And they pitched their tents, and spread abroad the carpet of riot and dissipation. And when I received intelligence thereof I selected 243 brave and resolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces. And I re-crossed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched with great speed. And I alighted at the distance of a fursung from the castle of Kurshee. And I commanded that they should make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Jaukoo kneeled before me and said, 'Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they shall arrive, delay is necessary.' And at this time it came into my mind that I should go *alone* and examine the castle. And I took forty warriors with me, and turned my face toward the castle of Kurshee. And when the blackness of the castle appeared, I commanded my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbushur and Abdullah, who had been born in my house. And when I came to the border of the ditch I saw that the ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and I beheld a water-pipe. And water ran through that pipe to the castle, and they had laid it across the ditch. And I delivered my horse to Mubbushur. And I crossed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and struck on the door with my hand, and I discovered that the guards of the portal were asleep.[a] And they had filled up the portal, behind the door, with clay and earth. And I looked round the walls of the castle, and saw the place where the steps of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I mounted my horse, and went back to my warriors. And the troops, who had remained behind, came with the ladders. And they were all armed. And they took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the castle. And they crossed the ditch on the pipe. And having fixed their ladders they entered on the walls of the castle. And when 40 resolute men had entered the castle, I also placed my foot on the ladder and went in unto them. And they sounded their trumpets.[b] And I obtained possession of the castle.

95.

"And at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuks[c] con-

[a] Is not this excellent adventure disgraced by some rashness in this part of it? Timour might have been knocked on the head from the wall. The guards might have rushed out and seized him. This solitary part seems hardly necessary to the rest. At least another might have done it. [b] A common artifice, especially in surprise: that few men make a terrible noise. [c] An unruly, mischievous, oppressive tribe in Mauwur u Nuhur — the government of which had been taken from Timour, and given to Ouleaus Khaujeh. But Timour fought against them for the injured. See p. 25, 27, 29, 35, 61, 65, 77, 79, 81, 83.

"And I ſaw the duration of my power in this, that I ſhould divide among my ſoldiers the treaſures which I had gathered." 65.

"I ſaw it was good that I ſhould be quick and break their power before they could gather their army." 69.

"I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſhew kindneſs to ſome, and that with ſome I ſhould diſſemble, and that I ſhould tempt ſome by riches, and ſooth ſome by promiſes and perſuaſions, and engagements." 71.

"I overpowered them at the ſecond charge. And as the night was come I pitched my tents on the ground where I was. And I counſelled with myſelf that I would not let the plain of battle cool.[a] And I conſidered that if I was guilty of delay ſomething might come to paſs which might cauſe me to ſtand in need of aſſiſtance. And tho Ameer Hooſſein was encamped behind me, I did not cauſe myſelf to ſtand in need of his ſupport.[b] But by ſkilful meaſures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh." 77.

"And I ſaw that they were going troop after troop. And my Ameers and my ſoldiers called for orders to purſue them. And I ſaid to myſelf 'I muſt delay to purſue them until their intentions be known.' And after they had travelled four furſungs they halted. And I diſcovered their deſign. Behold their intention was this, that they might bring me down from the mountain apart and aſſault me." 79.

"And on this account the honor of my ſtation urged me that I ſhould take the caſtle of Kurſhee. And certain of my Ameers counſelled that I ſhould go and ſeize it by force. But I deliberated thus, 'If I attempt to reduce it by a ſiege, perhaps my forces may be repulſed.' And in a ſiege ſeveral dangers occurred to my mind, and I rejected that meaſure. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould turn my face toward Khorauſaun[c] until the hearts of the keepers of the caſtle ſhould be at reſt: and that then I ſhould return and march with ſpeed and aſſault the caſtle by ſurpriſe, and reduce it. And I marched and went toward Khorauſaun. When I croſſed the Waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khorauſaun, and they were journeying toward Kurſhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts to me. And I asked him of the ſtate of the Ameers of Khorauſaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khorauſaun. And I diſmiſſed him. And I ſent a ſpy with the people of the Kauruvvaun. And I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah until the ſpy

[a] According to the different circumſtances the event of ſuch conduct may be different. [b] Sometimes it may be well to do at almoſt any rate without help, rather than make one, who might help, of too great conſequence. But ſometimes this ſlight may be returned by the ſlighted perſon's becoming as important a foe as he would have been a friend. [c] In a different direction. As if he were going elſe where than to Kurſhee.

brought

Soldiers were paid according to that price alſo. ibid. in note.

Whoever cultivated waſte land, or made an aquæduct or canal was free from tax the firſt year, in the ſecond what he offered was received, in the third he was regularly taxed. 367.

If a rich injured a poor man, recompenſe was levied on the wrong-doer. 369.

Waſte lands unowned were annext to the crown. If poor, inſufficient people owned them, they were enabled to cultivate. ibid. [a]

Bridges repaired and built: Inns ſupplied. ibid.

In every city a moſque, a ſchool, a monaſtery, [b] an alms-houſe, an hoſpital (with a phyſician who had ſalary) a government-houſe and a court of juſtice. 371.

An officer (with approbation of eccleſiaſtic and civil judges) took care of the effects of thoſe who abſconded, the inſane, thoſe who died inteſtate, or ſuffered as malefactors. ibid.

Property given to the lawful heir. If none, expended in public piety. 373.

from one commodity to another; ſo as that the moſt ſaleable bears the burthen. That cannot be where all are taxed in the lump. This is ſaid on ſuppoſition that the ſtate may want more than the uſual revenue, ſometimes. But one third is higher than any rate of taxation with us. [a] *N.B.* Our Commons. [b] Better a college, or the like.

## MILITARY PASSAGES.

"ONE experienced and able ſoldier can direct the efforts of thouſands of thouſands." p. 7.

If a prince ſend an army againſt a foe there is a twofold danger, i. e. that his army may be defeated or revolt. But if he go with them, there is only one peril, i. e. of defeat. [a] 11.

Counſils tending to divide the ſoldiers are not to be hearkened to. And the dictates of fear are not to be regarded. 15.

One in war, having few men, ſhould abide in the deſert. 41.

If the men will not ſtay in the deſert the commander muſt diſpoſe of them, within call, and go to levy more. ibid.

"And the ſpirit of glory aſſaulted me, and ſaid, " Since thou haſt advanced forth with pretenſions to empire, even this is becoming the dignity and the rank of a king that thou reſolve on war. And that thou be either triumphant or be ſlain in battle." 63.

[a] Timour always preferred the ſingle to the double peril.

"

even to thoſe who had injured him, and had deceived him. So that his foes bluſhed at his generoſity. 323.

The like to thoſe alſo who envied him. 325.

If a tyrant govern another kingdom it ought to be aſſaulted, that it may be delivered.[a] 331.

Alſo if religion be diſhonored there. 333.

*N.B.* Where ſchiſm and faction abound the nation is near ruin. And it ſhould be invaded.[b] 335.

Timour informed his ſelf of the diſpoſitions of a people; and indulged their prejudices in his appointments of rulers. 337.

Buſineſs is not to be poſtponed: — lenity and ſeverity have their ſeaſons — the ſword is not to be uſed where negotiation will ſerve. ib.

"Dominion may be continued to the *infidel*; but to the *tyrant* it ſhall not be continued."[c] 341.

In conquered kingdoms, Timour reverenced the divines and learned, and provided for them. The rich and the powerful he held as brethren; the poor as his children. He exalted the nobles. He honored the ſoldiers and ſoothed the ſubjects. To the good he did good, expelling the vicious. He kept the baſe in proper bounds. He ſuſpended all between hope and fear. He opened the portals of equity, and cloſed the avenues to oppreſſion. 345.

He gave the government again to the ſubdued prince, holding him obedient by generoſity.[d] To the refractory he gave "a *vigorous*, *ſagacious* and *upright* Governor." 347.

Thieves were put to death, ſeditious baniſht, and vagrants and buffoons kept out. ibid.

A magiſtrate watched the ſoldiers and ſubjects in every city, and was accountable for all ſtolen. ibid.

Guards were appointed on the rodes and anſwerable for loſſes. ib.

Soldiers were not permitted to enter forcibly a ſubject's houſe or ſeize his property. 349.

Proviſion was made for mendicants, that begging might be aboliſht. ibid.

N.B. *Particulars* of police are recounted after this page, which will not be noted here: only the more general and important.

Beggars perſiſting to beg were ſold into another land. 361.

"I ordained that the revenues and taxes ſhould be collected in ſuch a manner as not to ruin the ſubject or depopulate the country.[e] For that cauſeth a diminution of the imperial treaſures, and the diſperſion of the troops; and the diſperſion of the troops, an extinction of the imperial power." 361.

Charters of ſafety granted to conquered ſubjects. 363.

The ſubject paid one third of the *current price* of his commodities into the royal treaſury.[f] ibid.

[a] This may have limitations. *N.B.* WILL. III. [b] When the policy or religion of a country is wrong, Timour would have it righted by a victorious foreign power.

[c] When *men* are injured they are more impatient (and ſhort-ſighted) than GOD.

[d] That is not always ſafe. The ſubject king has too much power and opportunity (if ſtill reigning) to hurt the conqueror. It is eaſy to obſerve that Timour was, like other men, ſometimes in extremes. He was too open or too artful. [e] A neceſſary conſequent on the former. [f] So taxes were always proportionably tolerable. But the exigencies of the ſtate are ſo different, that is impracticable; except by varying the tax

A good minifter in affairs of the empire, feeth not his enemy.[a] 261.

*N.B.* That is a valuable minifter who keeps in eye the population and cultivation of the country, the profperity of the fubjects, the ftrength of the army, and the fulnefs of the treafury. ibid.

He is a fkilful minifter who can, in fit time, divide or unite the fubjects and armies; who can remove the difficulties of his fovereign, and can bring the confufed matters of adminiftration to order. 265.

An inferior officer fhould not do the work of a fuperior; nor vice verfâ. 273.

The feveral officers of different departments fhould ftate to the prince in council the truth of the affairs under their jurifdiction: to be recorded, by official fecretaries for the council and a fecret one for the prince, in private confidence. 303. et feq.

Regular accompts to be taken of receipts and expenfes in each department. 307.

A minifter fhould (at leaft) do that for the king which he expects from his own fteward and Major domo. 313.

A good fervant does his duty, becaufe he loves his mafter. ibid.

A good minifter takes not affront nor meditates revenge for the flights or chidings of his prince: but takes his fovereign's faults on his felf.[b] 315.

The fervant whofe eye is on the gleanings of his mafter will overlook his duty. 315.

He who forgetteth his duty fhould be trufted no more. ibid.

"The fervant who in the hour of trial fearcheth after excufes, who on the day of enterprife demandeth his difmiffion, who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat,[c] and who transferreth till to-morrow the bufinefs of to-day, let the names of fuch fervants be held in contempt, and let them be delivered over to the Almighty."[d] ibid.

If a good fervant be any how put to fhame, let it be repaired. 317.

When one who had forfaken his mafter, returns of his own accord, let him be received with honor.[e] ibid.

That fervant, who was good and faithful to his former mafter, is to be received with honor, and promoted if he come to another: and the contrary. ibid.

When a fervant in policy *pretends* friendfhip to his mafter's foe, he fhould be confidered as a wife friend. But if it be earneft, let him be given to the enemy. 321.

When Timour conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, he behaved alike to his friends and enemies;

[a] That is, 1. is intimidated by no oppofition to his well-doing; 2. has no confideration of his own private enmities. His power is never the tool of his own revenge. [b] *N.B.* Under an oriental mafter. [c] i. e. His *own* fafe and advantageous retreat; not that of the adventure. [d] i. e. Be no more concerned with them. [e] How does this confift with the laft maxim but two following? Sometimes one is good, fometimes the other. Difcretion to be ufed. As in anfwering and not anfwering a fool according to his folly.

even

Too great a ſhare of government ſhould be truſted to none. Neither diſcretionary power. But government is to be divided into as many poſts as may be. Then every one's own buſineſs and watching over others will keep the ſupremacy ſafe. 225.

Rulers ſhould have and maintain a dignity of authority: a majeſty, which can overawe from preſuming at all againſt them. 227.

The power of every officer, even the moſt inferior, to be abſolute over all below.[a] 231.

The learned and divines to have ſubſiſtence from the prince. 235.

A province ſhould be inſpected on the third year. And if populous, plentiful and ſatisfied, the governor ſhould be continued. Elſe removed; and receive nothing for three years. 241.

Tax-gathering may be enforced by menaces: but not corporal puniſhment. ibid.

"The governor whoſe authority is inferior to the power of the ſcourge is unworthy to govern. ib.

Ameers to be tried by their Peers. 245.

Miniſters not to be condemned but on fair trial and clear proof. Becauſe many ſeek their ruin, either envying them, or plotting againſt their ſovereign. ibid.

Peculation in miniſters of revenue to be made good from their own fortunes. 249.

They whom a miniſter patronizes will deceive and betray him: whom he neglects oppoſe him. ibid.

Extortion and rapine in all caſes to be puniſht and righted by reſtitution. 251.

The eccleſiaſtic judge to decide of cauſes and crimes cognizable by eccleſiaſtic law. The civil judge to order the reſt. 253.

A miniſter ſhould be firm and generous, intelligent and ſagacious, be able to live in harmony with the ſubjects, be patient under difficulties, and cultivate peace. ibid.

Such a miniſter ſhould be diſtinguiſht by honor, a poſt of authority, the confidence of his maſter, and diſcretional power. ibid.

The miniſter equal to his office is juſt and moderate (concerning government, land and property) never *appears* a hypocrite, ſpeaks well of the ſoldiers and ſubjects, neither ſays nor hears ill of others, behaves ſo prudently as to turn a man's mind from bad intentions, and does good for evil. 255.

Office muſt not be conferred on the *wicked*, the *envious*, the *revengeful*, or the *ſeditious*. ibid.

If a miniſter be too compliant the worldly-minded will bear him down. 259.

*N.B.* That miniſter is wiſe who regulateth royalty by a juſt knowledge of mankind. ibid.

The dignity[b] of empire is ſupported by extenſive territories, by a rich treaſury and numerous armies. ibid.

[a] This belongs to an univerſity, or other abſolute government. And is beſt for ſuch. This ſhews how nearly approche ſuch government, ariſtocraſy and democracy. The mere ſubject has *many* lords. [b] The dignity, but not the true welfare. As little army as ſafely may: and well filled, not large territory, are beſt.

glected.[a] ibid. et feq.

It is important to have the approbation of thofe who are eminent. And they grant concurrence to one who honours them, and courts it. 193, 195.

If a prince would be ftrong and fecure, he muft attach to him the religious. 197.

When thofe who have injured can be made friends, their injuries are not to be revenged, but forgot. If they ftill will be evil, they are to be left for a time. Elfe they are to be overcome with good. 199, 201.

Princes fhould avail their felves of the intercourfe with divines, lawyers, fagacious perfons, holy men whofe prayer is effectual, warriors, prudent and fecret men, learned men in fciences and arts, hiftorians, afcetics and folitaries, artificers and tradefmen, and travellers. 209 et feq.

Soldiers and fubjects equal, but one muft not hurt the other. 209.

Wages of foldiers to be advanced, not detained, efpecially in critical Times. ibid.

Inferior governors well chofen and ordered do much fervice. 211.

Plenty and population are main ends in a government. ibid.

Merchants may be ufeful not for their wares only, but intelligence from various parts. 217.

It is good to reinftate perfons who are conquered in their former rank in one's own fervice. 217.

When merchants from enemies become fubjects a fufficient capital fhould be allowed them. 219. The fame of the peafant.

A prince's words and actions ought to be his own, and his fubjects and foldiers fhould know they are not caufed by the influence of any other.[b] 221.

A prince fhould hear advice from every one. But fo attend to none as to make him equal or fuperior to his felf in ruling. ibid.

A king fhould be juft. But efpecially he fhould have juft and good minifters. Becaufe they can counteract his evil. But if they do evil, it will ruin him.[c] 223.

He muft act refolvedly and firmly: giving his orders in perfon, that none may dare or be able to oppofe. ibid.

A refolution, enterprife or command muft not be altered. Even tho the confequence is expected to be bad.[d] ibid.

[a] It makes him, 1. lefs fufpected; 2. more revered; and 3. gains him the influence of the religious. *N.B.* The reformation meant is only bringing again into ufe thofe eftablifhed things which by omiffion were obfolete. — The attention is to maintain and fpread religion. [b] This Maxim muft be qualified. It is a good one in an abfolute government, as Timour's; where the perfon, not the law, rules. But in mixt governments, where the law is underftood to be above the king, it is more fecure for the prince to let his fubjects know that minifters direct the government, and to give them up when demanded by the people. Unlefs in fome fpecial cafes. [c] This alfo belongs to an abfolute government. See the note foregoing. [d] This refolution often brings affairs to an unhoped for iffue: and fo gives foldiers an opinion of the commander's being infallible and irrefiftible. Which upon the whole may do more good than evading an evil by change of council. And it is better that a fuperior do not fucceed in a bufinefs, than that he fo fubmit to the fubjects as to be expected or conftrained to fubmit again.

good terms. Which Moofi hearing became fecure, and obeyed Timour's fummons. By this ftratagem Timour took him, and afterwards punifht him. 137.

"I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the *valor* [a] of princes than conquering of kingdoms and empires, and waging holy wars with infidels." [b] 141.

When feditions are not checked in time, they may grow to open rebellion. ibid.

Seditious people are to be divided by difperfing them. [c] 143.

Such difcipline is to be kept that men and officers may maintain without prefumption their proper ftation. 161.

A prince is never to be eafy or fecure. 163.

It is good to pardon, to be liberal, to be affable, merciful; but chiefly to regard the low and redrefs the injured. 165.

The valiant are to be diftinguifht by a general. And a prince muft favor the learned and religious. ib.

Thofe who labor to hurt others, are not to be admitted to intimacy. 167.

Hiftory and politics fhould be ftudied by a prince; that he may know what has happened to royalties and realms, and wherefore, and how it happened. [d] ibid.

A prince fhould learn the conditions of his fubjects in all ranks particularly. 169.

For that purpofe intelligencers fhould be difperfed, who fhould be condignly punifht for falfehood. ib.

The oppreffions of inferior governors to be righted and adequately punifht. ibid.

Evil perfons are to have fcope till they make their felves manifeft and odious. 171.

Not only good and great men are to be rewarded, but enemies and traitors on fubmiffion are to be pardoned and ufed as friends, till their fufpicions are overcome and their hearts won. Efpecially if they are brave, wife and eminent. ibid.

One of various fortune learns neither to confide in friends too much, nor fear his foes. 173.

The man who is faithful to an enemy is honeft, and *may* be faithful to the other fide. ibid. And vice verfa. 175.

A prince fhould make his laws according to the religion of his country. 177.

Teachers of the divine law fhould be appointed. 179.

The prince is judge of ecclefiaftic matters. ibid. 181, et feq.

In weighty matters the divines are to be confulted about religion. 189.

A prince fhould attend to the minute parts of religion, and make a reformation when they are ne-

[a] But a prince muft be juft and good as well as valiant. [b] This is not inferted as a maxim of true, but of Timour's, policy. Have all European princes been more wifely politic? [c] They may be feparated without difperfion. And that will be as good. For inftance, 1. communication may be cut off by lines of army and fortification; 2. fome may be brought over and garrifoned, protected and privileged; 3. feditious people are the eafieft to divide by fufpicious hints. [d] Timour learnt hence the evil of tyranny and cruelty.

glected.

taken bribes, their prince muſt cauſe them to *refund the Bribes*, and diſplace them.[a] ibid.

People broken by oppreſſion, tho' readily agreeing with an oppoſition may break their engagements. Mauwur u Nuhur[b]. 33.

An army is the ſinews of empire. ibid.

A prince delivered from oppreſſion will ſometimes turn againſt his deliverer, ſuſpecting that elſe he may ſeize the government.[c] 47.

When a perſon aſpiring to the throne is known among the people, they will look with obſervation at him. Therefore he muſt pleaſe them. He muſt ſhew royal generoſity and liberality.[d] p. 65.

When Timour ſaw his people divided, and ſome not heartily with him, he ſent for theſe privately, promiſing each according to his particular deſires. But to each he appointed a *Kotul*, i. e. a perſon who ſhould ſucceed, in caſe of death, deſertion, diſmiſſion, or the like. By this act he engaged their hearts, he made them watchful to ſeem worthy their rank, he had a ſpy over them ready to tell when they deſerved diſhonour, and he retained two perſons by one place. 75.

Since GOD is one, and hath no partner, therefore the vice-gerent over the land of the Lord muſt be one only. *N.B.* This was ſaid againſt making confederate princes partakers of their commander's fortune. 89.

Suſpected princes are to be divided, that they may be weak. But one muſt be their reconciler to profit by their united ſtrength. 91. Ki Khiſſero and Aljauitoo Burdi. 93.

A friend in all places cometh to uſe. 103.

One obſtinately reſolved on reſiſtance, who is dangerous, may be won by ſeeming neglect, or indirect commendations, which he may hear. 111.

An ambaſſador of uſe to give intelligence. 127.

Unleſs it be quite neceſſary a prince ſhould not diſplace officers of his own promotion.[e] 133.

Timour having a deſign againſt Mooſi, complaint was made, and redreſs ſought againſt Mooſi from Timour, by the brother of a governor whom Mooſi had ſlain, and who had been Timour's friend. Timour put the complainant into cuſtody, ſeeming therein very unjuſt and giving great offence. Then he ſaid that Mooſi and he were on

[a] Perhaps this is not ſo good. For in this caſe, people might urge bribes perſuaſively enough on purpoſe to ruin an officer. Nor do bribers deſerve to recover money ſo miſchievouſly ſpent. — Would it not be better to put ſuch bribes in the public ſtock?
[b] This may admoniſh at the preſent time.
[c] As for example. There is a *poſſibility* of it between the (ſuppoſed oppreſt) Americans, and the (ſuppoſed deliverers) the French.
[d] At leaſt he muſt be better than he whom he rivals.
[e] In ſome caſes this may be neceſſary. As, 1. When they are known to be leſs qualified than they ſeemed at firſt. 2. When they act very wrong. 3. When they are too important. (But here is need of caution.) 4. When they are found treacherous. 5. When their removal is required by a more powerful. (But this being a phyſical or political neceſſity, not an ethical, juſtice, and the public good, are to be regarded as much as poſſible.) 6. At the remonſtrance of the people, where they have a part of the government.

good

## POLITICAL MAXIMS.

TIMOUR's ends "Reduction of kingdoms, obtainment of empire, defeating armies, circumventing enemies, making friends of foes, going out and coming in among friends and enemies."[a] P. 3.

"In conducting the concerns of government take by the hand four assistants, Deliberation, Counsel, Vigilance, and Circumspection." 5.

"Requisites for conducting the concerns of empire are one portion, patience and forbearance; and one portion, pretended negligence and feigning not to know that which thou knowest." ibid.

"The experiened have said, By policy kingdoms may be conquered and numerous hosts may be defeated, which by the swords of united armies cannot be overthrown." 7.

"By experience it is known to me that Counsel and Deliberation, and skilful Measures, are only to be found with the wise and sagacious." 9.

"Though the conclusion of every worldly event is covered by the curtain of fate; yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud, in every enterprise which I undertook, I acted from Counsel and Deliberation." ibid.

"When my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages, of undertaking or relinquishing, the enterprise before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions.[b] *N.B.* Every plan in which I discovered a twofold hazard I rejected, and chose that in which the peril was single." 11.

"After examining the avenue of retreat, enter on the execution." ib.

"Those are worthy to be counsellors who stedfastly adhere to that which they say and do." 13.

"Turn the ear to the counsel of the tongue, but treasure the counsel of the heart in the soul."[c] ibid.

When officers are sent to lay waste a province, and it is necessary to the province to gain time, the officers are to be amused with bribes and promises. 19.

They are contracted hearts and eyes to which presents seem great. 21.

If officers be known to have

[a] Of these ends the two last only are essentially good. The others are as their final cause. [b] Hereby, 1. He improved his own wisdom. 2. He had the advantage of every good hint — (And seldom does the wisest not need one.) 3. He pleased the courtiers by giving them the honor and importance of advising their sovereign. But by determining for himself, 1. He kept his counsellors from being too powerful. 2. From being envied. And, 3. Was more likely to have nothing offered him unreasonable or unplausible. [c] First be able to distinguish them.

taken

ſerved or exceſſive kindneſs to make and keep friends: he ſeemed not to know, but readily pardoned enmity and treachery. And ſuch was his delicacy of ſentiment, ſuch the art of his addreſs that he cleared every ſuſpicion of the guilty and fearful; he covered the bluſhes and ſoothed the confuſion of the conſciouſly unworthy. One ſo qualified, with ſo diſcerning an eye, ſo ſenſible yet ſtrong a heart, ſo open yet powerful a hand, ſo free yet ſo forcible an addreſs, what wonder that he was great?

In *military* occaſions his great excellence ſeems to have been hiding or magnifying his ſtrength, ſurpriſe, varying his attacques, and obſtinacy in keeping his ground. His *politics* availed him much in *governing* his army, and he often uſed prayers, his *oracle* of the KORAN, and other *religious* means to *encourage* them.

PARTICULARS in either of theſe parts are not here noticed; but the more generally applicable Sentences.

IN *theologic* matters I have been more ſcant, not meaning a detail of Mahummudan principles. There are only a few notes, tending to ſhew that religion every where has it's force, and is ſerviceable to a general and prince.

I COULD have added *parallel* ſentences from ſacred and other writers in moſt places. But I thought it needleſs to thoſe who knew them, and uſeleſs to the reſt. I only note TIMOUR's Maxims.

POLITICAL

*The following* ſyſtematized *View of the Matters contained in the Work of* TIMOUR *was ſent me by my learned and reſpected Friend Mr.* HENDERSON *of* Pembroke College, *to whom my Thanks are due for this Communication, and whoſe own Words will beſt ſerve to introduce it.*

SUCH a collection as the following has been acceptable in the editions of various authors. I need not mention the *Penu Tullianum*, or the ſimilar work from SENECA. Hereby the moſt important parts are got together, more ready for uſe: and the book is brought, as it were, to a focus. In ſome authors this is more uſeful than in others, in none quite vane. If we may have nothing to learn from TIMOUR, it will at leaſt pleaſe the curious to ſee in one view ſeveral good things which his mind was acquainted with: we ſhall be pleaſed to know that he knew them.

To avoid ſuperfluity of bulk I have made but three heads, *Political*, *Military*, and *Theologic* — adding a few remarkable Events.

In *political* management TIMOUR ſeems to have relied chiefly on amuſing perſons, bribing them, keeping them in ſuſpenſe, and dividing them. He was acutely ſagacious, rightly provident and firmly reſolute. He was generally willing by any undeſerved

"I NEED not, I preſume, inſiſt on how agreeable ſuch a diſpoſal muſt be to one ſo penetrated as I have ever been with ſentiments of veneration for an univerſity, which in quality both of a ſpring-head of learning and of a noble conſervatory of literature, is ſo juſtly conſidered as a national ornament and honour. But I now receive from that circumſtance a freſh pleaſure in its furniſhing me an occaſion of aſſuring yourſelf of the truth with which I moſt reſpectfully am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

JOHN CLELAND."

"The portrait of Tamerlan (Timur-lang) in this collection, and perhaps the only one extant in Europe on which any dependence for genuinenefs may be reafonably had, feems to favour the belief of its authenticity, in that you may very clearly remark in it the diftinctive Tartar lineaments, a broad flattifh face, with fmall eyes. Thefe in his fon and fucceffor, are fomewhat lefs confpicuous, and, as the line of defcent proceeds, they melt by degrees wholly into the foftnefs of the Indian features.

"It may alfo be obferved, that the Moors, or Mahomedan fovereigns of Indoftan, are in this collection diftinguifhed from the Gentoo ones, by the fafhion of the fkirts of their robes, which in the Gentoos, hang on each fide, cut at bottom into an angular form, as all the Rajahs wear them to this day for an enfign of royalty.

"However, this book, fuch as it is, was by the governor Tegbeg Khaun made a prefent of to Mr. Frazer, the fame who, at my inftance and requeft, tranflated from a Perfian manufcript the account of Shah Nadir's (the famous Thamas Kooly Khaun's) expedition into India; and who brought home a curious collection of oriental manufcripts, moft of which once belonged to the royal library of Ifpahan, and had efcaped the rage and barbarifm of the Aphgoons, or Ophguan invaders, under Emir Veifs and his fucceffors.

"Mr. Frazer having parted with this Set of Portraits to me, I fent it to Mr. Pope, with whom I was then in correfpondence; and who wrote me, That judging it too great a curiofity for his private ftudy, he had done it the honour of prefenting it to the Bodleian Library.

the general never enters the town himſelf, but deputes certain officers to the governor, under pretext of taking cognizance of his conduct, but in fact to receive a bribe, in form of a preſent, not to make too ſtrict a ſcrutiny.

"TEGBEG KHAUN, who was far from being on good terms with the court, being obliged to proportion his preſent to the need he ſtood in of abſolution for the paſt, and protection for the future, ſent the general ſome lacks of rupees, not leſs than to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand pounds. But that ſuch a tranſaction may not appear too barefacedly what it always is, a corrupt bargain, the general uſually makes the governor ſome preſent, which is to paſs for a return. On this occaſion then the Mogul general ſent Tegbeg Khaun a ſabre ſet with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, worth perhaps at moſt three or four thouſand pounds, together with this Book containing a ſet of Miniature Portraits of the ſucceſſive ſovereigns of Indoſtan for ſeveral ages back. They are in colours, on vellum-leaves, and are copies from a ſeries of originals in the Mogul's palace.

"THAT they are not fancy-pictures, there is great reaſon to believe (independent of the preſumption in their favour from the circumſtance of their being a preſent on ſo capital an occaſion from one great officer of ſtate to another, it being well known, that ſuch a ſet of pictures actually exiſts in the royal palace, it hardly ſeems improbable that a copy was taken from them. And here it is obſervable, that the Mogul-moors have nothing of that averſion to images or pictures, which is even a point of religion to the Mahomedans in general. But theſe Moguls retain ſo much of their Tartarian origin as to tolerate all religions, and even to incorporate theirs of the *Thien*, ſuch as the court of China alſo profeſſes, with the predominant religion of whatever country they conquer; for the greater eaſe of preſerving their conqueſts by this political conformity.

THE

# Account of the Portrait of TIMOUR.

*The Note and Letter here following are printed from a Book of* Eaſtern *Portraits given by Mr.* POPE *to the Univerſity. They are ſufficiently explicit in themſelves and require no Illuſtration.*

" THIS Book (containing one hundred and ſeventy eight " Portraits of the Indian Rajahs continued to TAMER- " LANE and the great Mogols his ſucceſſors as far as to Au- " rengzebe) was procured at Surat by Mr. JOHN CLELAND, " and given to the Bodley-Library, as a token of reſpect by

ALEX. POPE."

1737.

To Mr. EVERARD, Fellow of Braze-Noſe College, Oxford.

LONDON, the 8th. *July*, 1760.

" WITH great pleaſure it is, SIR, that I comply with your intimation to me of a deſire to know ſome particulars of that Collection of the Miniature Portraits of the ſovereigns of Indoſtan preſented by Mr. POPE to the Bodleian library at Oxford, inſcribed with his name and mine.

" WHILE I was in India ſometime before the year ſeventeen hundred and forty, one of the Mogul's generals was with an army incamped before the town of Surat, of which Tegbeg Khaun was then governor for the Mogul. On thoſe occaſions

tutes could be tranflated and publifhed together, fuch is the accuracy of the narrative, fuch the importance of the matter, and fuch the lights that they would mutually reflect on each other, that it would, I conceive, be impoffible for any one to read them, without acquiefcing in their Authenticity from the *internal* Evidence alone.

Yours, moft affuredly,

WILLIAM DAVY."

"I WAS acquainted with ſeveral great and learned Men in India, both Natives and Perſians: on peruſing the works of TIMOUR, I was led to make the ſame enquiry which you have made, Whether they were, or were not authentic? The anſwers I received were always in the affirmative, and attended with ſome tokens and expreſſions of ſurprize, that I ſhould, or could, doubt their being genuine. SHAAH AULUM, the preſent Mogul, has a beautiful copy of the Hiſtory and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR; which he holds in ſuch eſteem, and of which he is ſo exceedingly careful, that though he granted me the uſe of any other book in his poſſeſſion, this he poſitively excepted by name, as a work ſo rare and valuable, that he could not truſt it to the care of any perſon whatever.

"UPON the whole, if the learned of the Eaſt, for ſeveral generations, have been induced to give implicit credit to the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR, which is certainly the caſe, I do not ſee how Europeans can, with any degree of propriety, doubt their authenticity. The Oriental Critics have the very beſt materials on which to form their opinions; our ſmall ſtock of knowledge in the language, and ſtill ſmaller ſtock of Aſiatic Hiſtorians, render us very incompetent judges of the point in queſtion. There are a great number of Oriental Manuſcripts in the libraries of the Learned; but I am convinced, that there are ſtill many, very many, which never have found, and poſſibly never will find, their way into Europe; and therefore, though no *hiſtorical* evidence can be produced to prove the authenticity of the Works of TIMOUR, yet no one can pretend to ſay, that ſuch *hiſtorical* Proofs do not exiſt. The learned of the Eaſt muſt be the beſt judges whether they do, or do not merit their belief and veneration; and they have thought proper to beſtow upon them both the one and the other. It is much to be regretted, that the Life of TIMOUR, written by himſelf, is not to be found in Europe: if that, and the Inſti-

tutes

written by himfelf. Babour was defcended from TIMOUR in the fifth degree; he was the fon of Omer, the fon of Abu Saeed, the fon of Mahummud, the fon of Meraun Shaah, the fon of TIMOUR. About eighty years elapfed between the death of TIMOUR and the birth of Babour. Babour in the twelfth year of his age, and the 899th year of the *Hejra*, fat upon the throne of his father, in the kingdom of *Furgauneh*. The earlier part of his life very much refembled that of his great predeceffor, TIMOUR: and his abilities in the Field and in the Cabinet, his fortitude in diftrefs, his activity and courage when furrounded with difficulties and danger, and the glory and fuccefs with which his Enterprizes were finally crowned, make the refemblance between thefe two Princes ftill more ftriking. Like TIMOUR, Babour wrote an accurate Hiftory of his own Life and Actions in the *Turki* language; which though by no means equal to the admirable compofition of his renowned anceftor, is a work of infinite merit. Yet this hiftory, great as the Royal Author was, remained in obfcurity till the middle of the reign of his grandfon *Acbur*, when it was tranflated into the Perfian language by one of his Omrahs, *Khaun a Khaunaun*. It is more difficult to account for the temporary obfcurity of this valuable work, than for that of TIMOUR's; for at the death of Babour it muft have fallen into the hands of his fon *Humaioon*, and on his death, into thofe of *Acbur*. Yet till the middle of his reign it remained unknown and untranflated: and if *Acbur* had, in the early part of his life, been driven from his throne, if Divifions had taken place in his family, and his pofterity had been fcattered abroad, this valuable Manufcript might have fallen into private hands, and have remained unknown for a century longer; poffibly, have been totally loft. No Critic, either Oriental or European, pretends to difpute the authenticity of Babour's Hiftory; and, as far as I have been able to difcover, the Learned of the Eaft confider the Inftitutes and Hiftory of TIMOUR as equally genuine.

"I WAS

Royal Mogul author. This I take to be impoſſible. Authors in the Eaſt neither ſold their works to bookſellers, nor publiſhed by ſubſcription, nor depended for ſupport on the applauſe, the generoſity, or the credulity of the public: they were patronized by Princes, who rewarded their labours in proportion to the value of their works. And therefore, if *Abu Taulib* had been capable of writing ſuch a work, he never would have been guilty of ſo dangerous and fooliſh an artifice, which could tend only to diminiſh both his fame and his profit. The applauſe and the reward due to the Tranſlator of an excellent work, muſt, whatever his merit, be inferior to thoſe which are due to the author of ſuch a work; if therefore he had been maſter of abilities to write the Life and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR, as there written, he would have ſpoke in the third perſon inſtead of the firſt (no other alteration being neceſſary,) and have ſtood forth as the author of the firſt and beſt Hiſtory of the Life of TIMOUR, that ever was wrote; for which he muſt have obtained both applauſe and profit tenfold. The ſame mode of reaſoning will hold good to prove that the *Turki* copy could not be wrote by any *Mogul* author, but him to whom it is aſcribed, TIMOUR HIMSELF.

"THE noble ſimplicity of Diction, the plain and unadorned Egotiſm that runs through the whole of the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity alſo. The Orientals, for ſome centuries paſt, have adopted a very different mode of writing; the beſt of their hiſtorical works are filled with poetical and hyperbolical Flowers and Flouriſhes, which are ſo numerous, and occur ſo frequently, that many a *folio* volume, weeded and pruned of theſe ſuperfluities, would be reduced to a very moderate *octavo*.

"THE only work bearing the leaſt reſemblance to the Life and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR, which has fallen under my obſervation, is the Hiſtory (or Commentaries) of *Sultaun Babour*, written

or even his ſubjects during his life; ſince it would have enabled thoſe who choſe it, to combat him with his own weapons, or, in other words, to have turned his arts and his policy againſt himſelf. Hence it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Work in queſtion was entirely unknown during his life; and its ſubſequent temporary obſcurity may, I think, be plauſibly accounted for, by the probability of one copy only exiſting at the time of his death, by the uncertainty into whoſe hands that copy fell, and by the diviſions which followed in his family after the death of *Shaahroch*.

" *Abu Taulib ul Huſſeini*, in the Dedication of his Tranſlation to *Sultaun ul Audil*, ſays, that in the Library of *Jafir*, *Haukim* of *Yemmun*, he met with a manuſcript in the Turki, or Mogul language, which, on inſpection, proved to be the Hiſtory of TIMOUR, written by himſelf; containing an account of his Life and Actions from the ſeventh to the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, &c. &c. He then proceeds to give the Tranſlation of the ſaid Hiſtory, in which are included the Inſtitutes.

" IT may appear remarkable that the Tranſlator ſhould ſay ſo little, or in fact nothing, to prove the authenticity of the valuable work, which he was about to tranſlate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but, I think, the following inferences only can be drawn from it: either that he thought the work itſelf contained ſufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he tranſlated it, it was ſo well known, as not to admit of doubt, or diſpute. For my part, I think his inattention to this point is a very ſtrong, if not the ſtrongeſt poſſible proof, that the Hiſtory and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR are genuine.

" AN European Critic may ſay, that this ſame *Abu Taulib* might have wrote the work himſelf in the Perſian language, and have impoſed it upon the world as a Tranſlation from the

Royal

hand, or by a favourite and trusty amanuensis, is uncertain; but which ever was the case, it is most probable, that one copy only existed during his life-time, and possibly for many years afterwards: what became of that copy, during the confusions that followed his death, is equally uncertain and open to conjecture. But after all, it is no unreasonable supposition, that such a work in manuscript might have existed, though *Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond* knew nothing of the matter. That they were not acquainted with it, is evident: for if they had, and thought it authentic, they would have bestowed upon it all the applause which is due to the intrinsic merit of the work; if they had known and thought it spurious, they would have refuted its authenticity. But they have done neither; they are totally silent on the subject: from whence we may conclude, that they were strangers to the work. But it by no means follows, that such a work could not exist, because they, or even cotemporary authors, knew nothing about it.

"The History of Timour, written by himself, carries with it the strongest proofs that he wrote for posterity only; and that he could not, in prudence, or in policy, make his work public during his life: for it contains not only the same accurate detail of the Facts and Occurrences of his reign, as are found in other Authors, but it goes much further. He gives you that which he only had the power to give, the secret Springs and Motives which influenced his conduct in the various political and military transactions of his life, the arts by which he governed, as well as the power by which he conquered. He acknowledges his weaknesses, honestly owns his errors, describes the difficulties in which he was occasionally involved by those errors, and the policy by which he surmounted and overcame those difficulties. In a word, it is a complete Index to his head and his heart; and though, take it all in all, it redounds to the honour of both the one and the other, yet it was a work by no means calculated for the perusal of his enemies,

adhere minutely to the truth in their relations of the moſt trifling facts, and that they were ſtill more particularly enjoined to obſerve the ſtricteſt impartiality in their narratives of the conduct and actions of the Emperor himſelf. Theſe hiſtorical Journals, if they may be ſo called, were, from time to time, read in his preſence, in the preſence of his Miniſters and Officers, and of the learned: they were compared with, and corrected by, each other, by the Emperor himſelf, and by ſuch of his people as had a perſonal knowledge of the Tranſactions therein related. It muſt be allowed, that this was no bad way of collecting authentic materials for the hiſtory of a mighty Emperor, governing a mighty Empire; if he took care to enforce his commands by proving himſelf ſuperior to flattery, and by an encouragement of that truth and impartiality, which he ſo ſtrictly enjoined. From theſe materials, ſome of which were in proſe, ſome in verſe, ſome in the Turki (or Mogul) language, ſome in the Perſian, *Alli Yezzudi*, afterwards compiled the Hiſtory of the Reign and Conqueſts of Timour, as he himſelf declares: and with the aſſiſtance of theſe very materials, it is concluded that TIMOUR wrote that voluminous and valuable Hiſtory of his own Life, to which he added his Inſtitutes. How it came to paſs that that Hiſtory and thoſe Inſtitutes were not taken notice of either by *Alli Yezzudi*, or *Mirkhond*, it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to tell; but though the cauſe cannot with certainty be pointed out, there is room for many plauſible conjectures. The hiſtorical Journals before mentioned were numerous, and they were public alſo; the great and the learned had free acceſs to them; many copies of them were taken, and, with the originals, handed down to poſterity: the Life of TIMOUR, and his Inſtitutes, on the contrary, was a private work, compoſed by himſelf, with the aſſiſtance which thoſe materials afforded him. This work the Conqueror was led to engage in from motives to us unknown: amuſement or ambition, or both, might urge him to the arduous undertaking. Whether it was written with his own hand,

# Mr. DAVY's Letter on the Authenticity of the Inſtitutes.

*Glouceſter, Oct. 24. 1779.*

"MY GOOD FRIEND,

I HAVE received your favour of the 20th inſtant, and wiſh moſt heartily that my ability to comply with your requeſt was equal to my inclination.

"YOU apply to me for *external* evidence to eſtabliſh the Authenticity of TIMOUR's Inſtitutes: it is by no means an eaſy taſk which you impoſe on me; ſuch reaſons, however, as have led me to believe them genuine, I ſhall freely communicate. How far they may tend to remove the doubts of unbelieving Critics, I cannot pretend to ſay; poſſibly, in the opinions of ſuch Gentlemen, they may only ſerve to eſtabliſh my own credulity: be that as it may, I ſhall ſet out with declaring to you, that I cannot produce any *hiſtorical* proofs of the Authenticity of theſe Inſtitutes.

"THE only Hiſtories of TIMOUR, which I have read (that written by himſelf excepted,) are thoſe of *Shurruf u'deen Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond:* the latter is in the *Rouzut ul Suffau.* True it is that neither of theſe authors, to the beſt of my remembrance, take any notice of the Inſtitutes, or of the Hiſtory (or Commentaries) of TIMOUR, ſaid to be written by himſelf. *Alli Yezzudi* ſays, that TIMOUR was always attended by ſeveral learned and able men, whoſe ſole employment was to keep a ſort of hiſtorical Journals of all Tranſactions as they occurred, both military and civil; that they were directed to

 adhere

with my wiſhes he has given me permiſſion to publiſh. I have therefore inſerted it, annexed to the ſpecimen of *Euſoof* and *Zoolleikha*, in the preſent publication: not merely for the ſake of that beauty of thought and expreſſion, of which there is much in both to be admired; but becauſe, like the work of TIMOUR, it ſerves to prove that a knowledge of the Perſian diſplays to the European ſcholar not only whatever is valuable in its native compoſitions, but alſo the yet undiſcovered treaſures of the Shanſcrit, the Mogul, and other remote languages of the Eaſt.

WADH. COLL.
Oct. 15. 1782.

J. WHITE.

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The knowledge of the particulars contained in this note I owe to my converſations on the ſubject with Mr. ROUSE, from whoſe general acquaintance with the literature of India I have derived much curious and uſeful information.

many faulty paſſages; and for the communication of ſeveral curious Perſian papers, by the help of which my pupils in that language have derived ſuch advantages from my lectures as could not be ſupplied by the ſingle aſſiſtance of the printed volume.

I ALSO deſire the ſame ingenious Gentleman to accept my public thanks for the tranſlation of the Brahminic Prayer, * with which he has favoured me, and which, in compliance

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* Notwithſtanding Mr. DOWE's aſſertion to the contrary, there is reaſon to believe that various tranſlations of Shanſcrit books have been compoſed in the Perſian language; and that the theology and philoſophy of the Hindoos have been a ſubject of enquiry amongſt men of rank in Indoſtan, when letters were much cultivated. In a curious and valuable work compoſed about two centuries ago by the command of the Emperor Akbar, we find a large account of the aſtronomy, philoſophy, religious principles and cuſtoms of this very ſingular nation. This is not the only Perſian work that illuſtrates the hiſtory of a people ſo little known. A tranſlation has been made into the ſame language of the famous Shanſcrit poem, called Mahbarit (or the great war) ſaid to contain a hundred and twenty thouſand ſtanzas. We find likewiſe that Dara Shekoo, one of the ſons of the Emperor Shah Jehan, paid ſuch attention, and gave ſuch encouragement to the profeſſors of the Hindoo Religion, that he was treated as an infidel by his younger brother Aurengzebe, who made this partiality a plea for exciting all the Mahommedans againſt him, and preventing his ſucceſſion to the empire of his father. This learned prince was the author of many works, the moſt valuable of which, perhaps, is his ſummary of the Four Bedes (or ſacred books) of the Hindoos, containing very curious and abſtract diſcuſſions of their metaphyſics and religious principles, *upon the nature and exiſtence of the world — of the ſupreme Being — of the human mind and its faculties — of the worſhip due to the ſupreme Being, as ſole Creator of the world* &c. &c.

Some tranſlated fragments of this work, as well as the original Perſian, having been ſhewn me by Mr. ROUSE, I was highly ſtruck with the ſublimity and beauty of many of the paſſages; and judging that a ſpecimen would be extremely acceptable to the readers of this volume, I requeſted leave to inſert at the end of it *One of the Prayers directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being.*

volume, and by which every doubt that remains will be removed. To facilitate the attainment of this beautiful language, a Dictionary, and a Grammar, have been published by two Gentlemen, whom I have the honour to call my friends. The first of these performances is distinguished by immense labour and accuracy, the other by that propriety of arrangement which is peculiar to an elegant mind. But a language is neither learnt nor studied in a grammar or a dictionary. It can only be acquired by the help of books, or oral converse: and it has often been lamented by gentlemen intending to enter into the company's service abroad, and therefore desirous of learning the Persian language, that in England where it cannot be acquired by colloquial methods of instruction, the secondary advantages of printed Persian volumes should be wanting.

THAT this deficiency may no longer be the occasion of difficulties and a reason of complaint, the Institutes of TIMOUR are now published in a faithful English version, and the Persian from which it is translated. Nothing can be more happily calculated for the purpose of teaching a language than a work like the present, abounding with that simple grandeur which is peculiar to Eastern compositions, and which has been so often admired in the scriptures of the Hebrew testament.

GRATITUDE will not suffer me to conclude these prefatory remarks, without expressing acknowledgements to C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esq; for favours which he has conferred with a friendly politeness on the work and its editor; for the use of a valuable Persian MS. which containing a considerable portion of the original work, has enabled me to collate and correct

many

which I was favoured in anſwer to my earneſt requeſt, and which has received the praiſe and aſſent of all who have read it.

THIS is all, concerning the Author and the Edition, that I think neceſſary to be obſerved to the general readers of TIMOUR's Inſtitutes; a work, which if I am not miſled by the prepoſſeſſions of an editor, will be eſteemed curious and valuable by men of various profeſſions. The ſcholar is ever delighted with a larger knowledge of illuſtrious characters, with their remains reſcued from long oblivion, and all that tends to throw additional light on the hiſtory of mankind. He who ſtudies and profeſſes the military art, will ſurvey with pleaſure modes of marſhalling and encamping armies, and the ſtratagems of a great conqueror, judiciouſly and ſucceſsfully formed, though different from his own. The politician muſt be intereſted in the peruſal of meaſures, by which diſtant nations were united under the ſame government, and which baffled all the dangerous intrigues of powerful courts and deſigning men.

BUT the moſt immediate and evident advantage that can be derived from the preſent publication, remains yet to be told. The ſuperiority which a knowledge of the Perſian language confers on its poſſeſſors in our Eaſt India ſettlements is allowed by all whoſe civil or military ſtations have obliged them to reſide in thoſe countries. To thoſe readers who have not received this perſonal conviction, I recommend an attentive conſideration of Mr. DAVY's letter upon the ſubject, which I have added for their peruſal at the end of this volume,

which I immediately determined to execute. As I proceeded in the tranſlation, I found difficulties in the ſequel, which had not occurred in the ſpecimen: and I obſerved in the courſe of the work ſo many terms of the Military Art, which my ſtudies had never led me to examine, and ſo many idioms of the Tartar Language which no lexicon in Europe has explained, that I choſe to decline the firſt honours of the preſent publication, and deſired to devolve the whole taſk of tranſlation on Mr. DAVY. His knowledge of that art and language pointed him out as one peculiarly qualified to undertake it; and his ready compliance with my requeſt has added an obligation of a public nature to many inſtances of private friendſhip. The tranſlation was fortunately completed, when Mr. DAVY was called to India by an honourable appointment under LORD MACARTNEY. The ſubordinate duties of an Editor, therefore, reverted to me: and I hope that by my accuracy in ſuperintending the impreſſion of the Original, and my diligence in compiling the Indexes, I ſhall give ſatisfaction to my friendly aſſociate as well as to the public. That I may not however loſe any aſſiſtance which a colleague ſo ingenious and intelligent can contribute, I have ſubjoined to this preface a Letter on the Authenticity of the Inſtitutes, with

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public, is all that is wanting to perpetuate the gratitude of the learned world, and to place the name of HUNTER on a footing of equality, in the eſtimation of future ages, with the SLOANES, the MAFFEIS, and other illuſtrious benefactors of mankind.

IT was to the Doctor's library that this publication was indebted for the original MS; and it was ſtill further aſſiſted by a donation of three plates, and a very liberal encouragement of ſubſcription.

which

Of this MS. I publiſhed in 1780 a tranſlated Specimen. The attention with which that experiment of the public favour and opinion was received, gave birth to the preſent work,

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The work will be executed not only with elegance and ſplendor, but with a degree of accuracy and fidelity totally unuſual in publications of this ſort.

The Library comprehends moſt of the early printed books of the xv. century, the rare editions of the claſſics, the expenſive works of natural hiſtory, of general hiſtory, and antiquities; and particularly all the curious and valuable books in medicine. And in addition to this collection of printed books, there is a conſiderable collection of MSS. in all the languages that are cultivated by men of erudition.

The collection of natural history is enriched with ſpecimens of the moſt beautiful productions in every claſs. The claſs of fossils, and likewiſe that of corals, and of Birds poſſeſs many ſpecimens that are peculiar to this cabinet. The claſs of shells is ample and elegant; the ſame character is applicable to that of insects. And there is a numerous catalogue of miſcellaneous curioſities not reducible to any particular arrangement.

This Muſeum, thus ſplendidly and ſcientifically eſtabliſhed, has been the laborious and expenſive acquiſition of a Gentleman, to whoſe love of ſcience the academies of our own and other countries have borne the moſt honourable teſtimonies.

The public muſt be anxious to know the final deſtination of ſuch treaſures; it is largely intereſted in their fate, and would have abundant reaſon to lament their diſperſion. But, happily for the world, their proprietor is actuated by much higher motives than thoſe of mere perſonal gratification; a ſelfiſh, ſolitary love of letters was not the primary inducement that influenced his mind; and in proportion as his treaſures become more important, he feels more ſtrongly the obligation of devoting them to the uſe of the public. Such an act of munificence, as, I hear, He intends to perform in bequeathing his collection to the

public

might then have tended to promote, the prefent age wifely difregards fuch fuperftitions.

THE MS. of which I now prefent a tranflation to the public, is to be found in that ineftimable repofitory of literary treafures, Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER's Mufeum. *

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* This Mufeum is univerfally known as one of the moft auguft monuments of a love of fcience now exifting in the world, and is become much too illuftrious an object of curiofity not to merit a more exact defcription than has yet been given of it to the public. My reader therefore will, I am perfuaded, readily forgive me, if I embrace this opportunity of acquainting him in a more detailed manner, with the great extent and variety of thofe obligations which its generous poffeffor has already conferred, and is likely to confer in a ftill higher degree upon the learned world.

IN faying that the Mufeum ftands unrivalled in the number, ufefulnefs, and neatnefs of the ANATOMICAL PREPARATIONS, I fay no no more than what every perfon is prepared to expect. No man could approach Dr. HUNTER's Mufeum without a conviction that no exertion of art, no expence would be wanting to illuftrate and embellifh a fcience which his own ftudies have carried to a degree of excellence, that has made our Metropolis the firft fchool of anatomy in the world.

THE collection of MEDALS acquired at an immenfe expence, defies the competition of any Royal Cabinet in Europe, that of his moft Chriftian Majefty only excepted. The latter, which before the eftablifhment of Dr. HUNTER's was without a rival, can hardly claim a decided fuperiority; in many refpects is confeffedly its inferior. The Doctor, who is not more diftinguifhed by his poffeffion than by his knowledge of thefe treafures, is at prefent employed, with the learned and ingenious Mr. COMBE, in publifhing a part of them in three divifions; one containing the Greek cities, another the Perfian, Phenician, Samaritan, Palmyrene, Punic &c. and the third the Greek Kings.

If the reader of this preface has not perufed any hiftory of TIMOUR's actions, he will think thefe praifes laboured, perhaps will call them extravagant; if he has, he will confider them as the free tribute which honeft admiration and a feeling heart pays to the virtues of an exalted character. There is, however, another reafon which has induced me to fpeak fo largely in this place of TIMOUR's character, and of the Hiftory written by himfelf: for from that Hiftory he felected thofe Defigns and Inftitutes which I have the honour of prefenting in this volume to the public.

THERE is ever a folemnity and a kind of facred authority in the inftructions which a dying parent delivers to his offspring. When the Lord of the Eaft laid down his fceptre, which he had long and well fupported, he did not leave to his fucceffor a verbal injunction, a fhort leffon of morality, which might foon be forgotten amidft the cares and pleafures of a court; but beftowed with his empire a gift more valuable, the art to preferve it. In the leifure of his declining years, he had thrown a retrofpective eye over the fcenes of a long and various life, and thence he committed to writing for the perpetual inftruction of his imperial defcendants, thofe rules of government and thofe meafures of policy which himfelf had invariably followed: and from his Hiftory he collected, without regard to chronological order, the feveral plans he had formed, and their fuccefs. To thefe he added his OMENS, which are omitted in this publication, becaufe, however confiftent they might have been, when they were written, with the manners and religion of the Eaft, and whatever political purpofes they

might

vices from the reader's eye, and reflected upon his virtues more light than they will bear. But theſe harſh opinions can be pronounced or credited by thoſe only who are unacquainted with his writings, and the praiſe which his enemies have given him, that he was a lover of veraciy, who hated, detected, and puniſhed falſehood, with ſincerity, penetration and conſtancy. That he might purſue his great objects by the light of truth, he made uſe of every friend and every foe: and in his Inſtitutes he does not bluſh to acknowledge his errors and miſfortunes, but glories that he has profited by them. Ambition, the infirmity of noble minds, was perhaps his only fault. The deſire of conqueſt is a principle which the liberty of modern times has juſtly reprobated. But TIMOUR's conqueſts were in a great meaſure produced by other cauſes; by the manners of the age and country in which he lived, and by the treachery of kings, who whilſt they envied his greatneſs, profeſſed themſelves his friends. It is needleſs to ſpeak of his valour; for who has not heard of his ſucceſsful wars, his perſeverance and reſolution in diſtreſs, and his ſerene and temperate conduct after victory? That he poſſeſſed the humane and liberal virtues cannot be doubted, when we read that he forbore to take revenge when it could not interfere with his intereſt, and that he extended the rights of ſubjects and citizens to nations who were willing to be ſlaves. When he had ſeen his vaſt empire riſing, like the infant world, out of anarchy under his victorious hands, he diſpenſed order through every part of the dominion he had created, and governed it with wiſdom, juſtice and benevolence. There is therefore leſs reaſon to blame his ambition, than to admire the amiable moderation by which it was reſtrained.

IF

In the thirty ſixth year after the death of Timour, his life was again written, in Arabic, by Ahmed Ibn Arabſhah, a Syrian. That author poſſeſſed, like the former, a lively and deſcriptive pen: but what he gains in elegance, he loſes in truth and candour; for in every page of his work may be diſcerned the hatred of a conquered enemy, and thoſe national prejudices which are diſgraceful to an hiſtorian.

Other hiſtories of Timour's life and actions have been written, and ſome of them are now preſerved in European cabinets. One of them which has eclipſed the reſt, and which alone deſerves to be the object of our particular notice, was written under the conqueror's inſpection, if not by his own hand. The ſuperior value of this hiſtory is at once perceived: for it was drawn not only from thoſe authentic ſources to which Ali Yezdi found acceſs, but alſo from a perſonal recollection of thoſe tranſactions whoſe motives and objects were perhaps known only to himſelf. It has not yet found its way into Europe: but I have been informed by Mr. Davy, who has read it in the Eaſt, that it is a minute and faithful narrative of an intereſting and eventful period. I therefore hope my friend, who will ſpare no ſearch or expence to procure it, will bring it with him when he returns from his public ſtation abroad, and tranſlate for the information and entertainment of his country, a larger and more certain account of Timour's conqueſts than we now poſſeſs. To this hiſtory, ſome who have no other wiſh than to leſſen its eſtimation, have objected, that it muſt certainly be partial, and that its imperial author muſt have ſtudiouſly concealed his

# PREFACE.

THE illuſtrious Name of TIMOUR was firſt made known to Europe by tradition: and his heroic actions are ſtill celebrated by many who have never ſeen the hiſtory written by Ali Yezdi, nor peruſed the accounts of D'Herbelot and Voltaire. I am therefore happily unencumbered with the embarraſſments of an author who labours to combat general prejudices, or to introduce a new character to the world.

THE life of this great conqueror was written, in obedience to the command of his grandſon, by Ali Yezdi, a native of Perſia. That work, which has been tranſlated into French by Petis de la Croix (and from his tranſlation into Engliſh) is valuable, not ſo much for the flowery phraſes with which it abounds, as for the authenticity of its materials: it was collected from the journals regularly kept by the Emperor's ſecretaries, in which were recorded every event and tranſaction of his reign.



IN

TO

WILLIAM DEVAYNES, Esq.

CHAIRMAN,

AND THE OTHER DIRECTORS

OF THE

HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IN THE YEAR 1780;

THIS WORK,

WHICH THEIR MUNIFICENCE

HAS CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED,

FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS

IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST,

IS WITH MUCH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE INSCRIBED

BY

W. DAVY AND J. WHITE.

# INSTITUTES
## POLITICAL AND MILITARY,
WRITTEN ORIGINALLY
IN THE MOGUL LANGUAGE,
BY THE GREAT
## TIMOUR, IMPROPERLY CALLED TAMERLANE;

First tranflated into PERSIAN by ABU TAULIB ALHUSSEINI;
and thence into ENGLISH, with Marginal Notes,

BY MAJOR DAVY,
PERSIAN SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE BENGAL FORCES
From the Year M DCC LXX to M DCC LXXIII.
AND NOW PERSIAN SECR. TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

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BY JOSEPH WHITE, B. D.
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TIMOUR.

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